

BULLETIN OF
THE JOHN RYLANDS
LIBRARY
MANCHESTER

EDITED
BY THE
LIBRARIAN
(HENRY GUPPY)

VOL. 19

JANUARY, 1935

No. 1

NOTES AND NEWS.

THE appointment of Sir Walter Moberly, the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Manchester, to the chairmanship of the University Grants Committee is a grievous loss to Manchester, where he has done such noble constructive work for the University and has taken so active and fruitful a part in the public life of the city. Sir Walter came to the University eight years ago, and at once showed a clear and sympathetic understanding of its problems. He gained the confidence of his colleagues and secured their loyalty and co-operation, and has served the University with devotion, impartiality, and a single-minded concern for its welfare as a whole.

Sir Walter has also won the respect of many organisations in the city, the civic authorities, and educational bodies. He has taken a leading part in shaping and organising the educational work of the B.B.C. as a member of the Central Council and as chairman of the North-western Area Council. He has been an influential member of the Committee of Vice-Chancellors and Principals, and the experience and information which he has gained on this body will be of special value to him in his new office. Not least among the committees which will suffer a loss in his retirement is the Council of the University Settlement. Both Sir Walter and Lady Moberly have taken the keenest personal interest in the settlement, and it will be difficult to replace them. Lady Moberly's intimate concern with the work in Ancoats and with many other useful social and educational activities, her personal friendliness to the members of the University staff, and to the large number of people whom she has met, and in whose work she has taken a helpful interest, have won for her affection as well as admiration in all quarters.

There have been great developments in the University since the Vice-Chancellor was appointed. These include the taking over of the Dental Hospital, the reorganisation of the department, and the creation of a Chair in Dental Surgery, the provision of a new hostel for medical students in their final year, the extension and development of the University halls of residence, the extension of the public health laboratories and of accommodation for the departments of pathology and bacteriology, and the enlargement of the laboratories for pharmacological and pharmaceutical chemistry. New Chairs have been established in Geography and in Physical Chemistry, the latter with special departmental accommodation and equipment. A separate department for the education of the deaf, with facilities for laboratory and experimental work, has been established. The department of Chinese has been revived and a Reader appointed. A new department for cancer research has been created. The research section for regional investigation, attached to the Faculty of Commerce and Administration, recently created, has already done notable work and published important reports. The accommodation for sports and games at Fallowfield has been improved and increased, and additional playing fields have been taken at Wythenshawe.

The Vice-Chancellor's retirement will be particularly felt just now, when his guidance and advice would have been so valuable in carrying out the extensions which have been approved as urgent and as possible within the limited financial means which the University can provide at present—a new library building, further indispensable accommodation for the greatly increased teaching staff, the enlargement of the refectory, and the relief of the pressure on accommodation in the unions.

We welcome the announcement of the appointment of Mr. Edward Robertson, M.A., D.D., D.Litt. (St. Andrews), to the Chair of Semitic Languages and Literatures in the University of Manchester, to fill the vacancy caused by the retirement of Professor Canney.

DEPARTMENT
OF SEMITIC
STUDIES

Since 1921, Dr. Robertson has been professor in the same subject at the University College of North Wales, Bangor. He was

educated at the University of St. Andrews, where he graduated in both Arts and Theology, and was placed first in the open bursary competition. He was subsequently assistant to the Professor of Hebrew at St. Andrews, and held in 1907-8 a Carnegie research scholarship and in 1909-10 a Carnegie fellowship, during the tenure of which he spent over two years in the Universities of Heidelberg, Leipzig, and Berlin. Later he spent a year in Syria studying Arabic. In 1912 he was appointed lecturer in Arabic in the University of Edinburgh and held this post, with interruptions caused by war service, until his appointment to the Chair at Bangor. From 1929 to 1932 he held the Gunning Lectureship in the University of Edinburgh.

His publications include various books and articles on Arabic, Persian, Syrian, and Palestinian subjects.

It is with the deepest regret, coupled with feelings of serious personal loss, that we have to record the death of ^{GERARD} Gerard Nonus Ford, J.P., which took place on ^{NONUS FORD.} Monday, the 23rd of July, at Colwyn Bay, in the eighty-fifth year of his age.

Mr. Ford had been associated with the John Rylands Library for upwards of thirty-three years, first as a Representative Governor, appointed in May, 1901, by the Lancashire Congregational Union, since December, 1911, as Honorary Secretary of the Council of Governors, and since March, 1915, as a Trustee. Throughout these years, and until within a short time of his death, he had served the institution with conspicuous ability and untiring devotion.

Mr. Ford was son and grandson of the Congregational manse. His father was the Reverend David Everard Ford. He was born in Manchester, was educated at Silcoates School, and at the age of seventeen entered upon a business career in Manchester where ultimately he became a well-known and highly esteemed figure in business circles.

From 1884 to 1895 he lived in Buxton, where he did much electoral work for the Liberal party in the High Peak Division. He was appointed a county magistrate for Derbyshire.

From early manhood Mr. Ford was active in all that concerned

the churches and Sunday-schools of Lancashire and Derbyshire, and held the post of honorary secretary of the Manchester Sunday School Union for twenty-five years.

He served as Chairman of both the Lancashire and the Derbyshire Congregational Unions, and in 1911-12 was elected to the Chair of the Congregational Union of England and Wales, a position held by very few laymen, of whom Mr. Ford was only the fourth. At the time of his death he was honorary secretary of the Lancashire Union and of the Woodward Trusts, and since 1894 he had been treasurer of the Church Aid Society.

As a son of the manse Mr. Ford had an intimate knowledge of the problems that confronted ministers and churches alike, and it was largely through his influence that the Congregational Union in 1909 decided to raise a central fund of £250,000 to secure an adequate stipend for ministers.

He had a profound regard for the work of the churches, and a passion for independency. On the great question that agitated Congregationalism at the time of his chairmanship of the Union—the choice between union and freedom, between strengthening the authority of the central body and retaining the independence of each church and congregation—Mr. Ford held strongly to the idea of independence. But he offset this position by supporting the maximum of voluntary co-operation between churches.

He was especially interested in the smaller, poorer country churches. He visited them much during the period of his chairmanship of the Union and befriended their ministers. He gave himself ungrudgingly to this service and many a manse was cheered and helped by his gracious visits.

Mr. Ford had a great gift of personal friendship, and a wonderful memory. He maintained a lively correspondence with his innumerable friends until the time of his death.

His life was full of beauty, and to those who enjoyed the privilege of his friendship his death is deeply felt. For many months he lived in almost complete retirement, sheltered by the loving care of Mrs. Ford, and a devoted nephew.

Those who were accustomed to look to Mr. Ford for guidance and encouragement do not yet fully realise the loss they

have sustained through the absence of that inspiration and sympathy upon which they could always count.

We regret to have to record the death also of the Reverend William Ernest Blomfield, D.D., late Principal of Rawdon College, Leeds, which took place on Sunday, the 21st of July, at Rawdon Cottage, Sutton, at the age of seventy-one years.

WILLIAM
ERNEST
BLOMFIELD.

Dr. Blomfield was born at Rayleigh, Essex, and was educated at the Nonconformist Grammar School, Bishop's Stortford, and Regent's Park College. He graduated B.A. at London University in 1883, B.D. at St. Andrews in 1892, and had the honorary D.D. conferred upon him by St. Andrews in 1910.

After having filled several pastorates he was appointed Principal of the Baptist College at Rawdon in 1904, retiring in 1926. He was for two years, 1917-19, also minister of Harrogate Baptist Church.

Dr. Blomfield was President of the Yorkshire Baptist Association in 1910, and President of the Baptist Union of Great Britain and Ireland in 1923. For nine years he was lecturer and examiner in Hebrew in the University of Leeds. From 1923 to 1926 he was a member of the Council of Governors of the John Rylands Library.

Oriental scholarship has suffered yet another serious loss through the death of Sir Ernest Alfred Thompson Wallis Budge, whose death, at the age of seventy-seven, took place in London, on Friday the 23rd of November.

SIR ERNEST
WALLIS
BUDGE.

Sir Ernest was born at Bodmin on the 27th of July, 1857. At school his interests turned towards Oriental languages, and his desire to read the books of Samuel and Kings in the original Hebrew led his headmaster, a man who encouraged his pupils to read widely, to seek the help of the Orientalist, Charles Seagar, with whose guidance and encouragement young Budge was started on a career in which he was to make a great name.

He first turned his attention to Hebrew, and in 1871 he went on to the study of cuneiform, in which George Smith was then

laying the foundations of a great reputation. Smith had read a paper on the famous "Deluge Tablet," which caused a stir amongst Biblical scholars, and so excited the interest of Budge that Seagar was led to introduce him to Dr. Samuel Birch at the British Museum, where he was allowed to copy some of the historical tablets.

In 1871, when only twenty-one years of age, Budge produced his first published work, "Assyrian Incantations," and in the same year, through Mr. W. E. Gladstone's interest in Assyriology, and with his help, he was enabled to go to Cambridge with an exhibition, and later secured a scholarship at Christ's College. In 1882 he gained the Tyrwhitt Hebrew Scholarship, and shortly afterwards was appointed an assistant in the Egyptian and Assyrian Department of the British Museum, where he helped to rearrange the Egyptian collections, and to form for the first time an Assyrian and Babylonian room. In 1893 he was made Keeper of his Department, at the early age of thirty-six, a post which he held until his retirement in 1924. He had been knighted in 1920. The British Museum was the passion of his life and he despoiled the ancient East, without scruple, to pile up treasures for the national collections.

From the time of his appointment to the Museum his life was mostly spent in producing books on Oriental subjects, the number of which is said to approach one hundred and thirty. His life, however, was varied by trips to the East on behalf of the Museum, during which he conducted excavations in Mesopotamia, Egypt, and the Sudan. His adventures on these expeditions are graphically described in his book, "By Nile and Tigris."

One of his most famous acquisitions was a papyrus containing a large portion of the "Odes" of Bacchylides, whose work had been hitherto almost unknown. Other discoveries were the illustrated "Papyrus of Ani," one of the finest copies of "The Book of The Dead," Aristotle's lost work on the "Constitution of Athens," the "Mimes" of Herodas, and a third-century roll of the Books of Deuteronomy, Jonah, and the Acts of the Apostles in Coptic. One of his great achievements was the recognition of the genuineness of the "Tel-el-Amarna Tablets,"

a collection of some 300 clay tablets, consisting of correspondence between the kings of Egypt and the princes of Syria, Mesopotamia etc., which had been unearthed by an Egyptian peasant woman from the record office of King Amenhotep IV. of Egypt (1400 B.C.), and had been declared by other scholars to be forgeries.

Sir Ernest was blessed with abounding energy. He began his day's work at six o'clock, and was thus enabled to produce the large number of works which stand to his credit, a record which enables us to form some idea of the extraordinary extent of his knowledge.

In 1881 Budge relinquished Assyriology and applied himself almost exclusively to Egyptology, and published an edition of "The Book of the Dead." He wrote much on the history and religion of ancient Egypt, including a "History of Egypt," a "Book of the Kings of Egypt," "The Gods of the Egyptians," and a "Dictionary of Egyptian Hieroglyphics." Indeed, he did much to popularise the study by publishing a series of hand-books dealing with the subject, the best known of which is "The Mummy."

Budge's linguistic attainments included: Assyrian, Hebrew, Syriac, Ethiopic, Egyptian, Coptic, and such spoken Arabic as an excavator needs, and there are many scholars in his departments of study who owe much to the encouragement and help he was always ready to extend to them.

Oriental study has lost in Sir Ernest a scholar of original personality of marked vigour, of great tenacity of purpose, and of intense loyalty to his department of the Museum. He was a contemporary of Rawlinson, George Smith, and Sayce, and he has left a record of those days in his "Rise and Progress of Assyriology."

Beneath an exterior which to some appeared brusque, Sir Ernest had a very tender heart. He was most gentle and understanding in the human things of life.

Since the death of his dearly loved wife, in 1926, Sir Ernest had been a lonely man, and of late his increasing weakness had caused his friends much anxiety, but to the last he was writing and working on his books and always found time to encourage others by the way.

For thirty years he was a firm friend of the library, and of the writer of this note, who was constantly encouraged by his generous words of appreciation of the work of the library. One of his last acts was to instruct the Oxford University Press to send copies of his three latest publications: "From Fetish to God in ancient Egypt (with 240 black and white illustrations)," "The Wit and Wisdom of the Christian Fathers of Egypt," "Stories of the Holy Fathers, translated out of the Syriac."

Many of our readers will be interested to learn of the impending retirement of Sir Michael Sadler, from the Mastership of University College, Oxford, which he has held since 1923. This step has been decided upon in order to find relief from administrative duties.

Sir Michael will continue to reside at Oxford after his retirement. He is at present editing an illustrated book on the arts of West Africa (excluding music), and is finishing a book on liberal education for the "Home University Library."

On the subject of the modern trend of education Sir Michael's views have been expressed as follows: "I hope to devote a great deal more time after retirement to further study of education, in which I have had the privilege of being concerned since 1889. The trend of opinion has confirmed the conviction which I have held for many years that education is not to be regarded as a subject by itself. It is one aspect of life, and in studying the methods of schools and the relations of teachers and young people and of both to parents and the older generation we have to remember the effect on the outlook of each individual of his fitness for activity, duty, work, and citizenship, and many other things besides those that are taught and learned in the schoolroom or the playing-fields. The opportunities for recreation, bathing, hiking, motoring, cycling, and foreign travel are all essentially ingredients in the new education. The cinema is of first-rate importance, and we are only beginning to see what it may do for a more civilised national life. At least equal in importance is wireless. Music, especially vocal and instrumental music practised by people themselves, is part

of the new culture. Painting and drawing, not only the appreciation of pictures and architecture, but painting, drawing, and all kinds of odd jobs about the house, good cookery, gardening, and decorating rooms, all those things are really part of life and education. And fundamentally important is the new freedom in the relationship between men and women—candour and liberty, and still more self-control, to get rid of the malaria of inhibitions ; living in the full light of the best medical knowledge and considerate outspokenness. Behind all that the fundamental thing in education, national and personal, is trying to be sure what we believe and what we would die for. Faith and reverence, the knowledge of all that comes to us from mystical traditions and that may come from prayer and worship, must colour our education, but must not be forced upon us by other people, and never allowed to make us lie about what we really believe.”

Sir Michael spent the years from 1903 to 1911 as Professor of the History and Administration of Education in the Victoria University of Manchester where he made hosts of friends. His students still carry happy and grateful memories of his charm as a lecturer and director of studies. He was later appointed Vice-Chancellor of Leeds University, where he remained until 1923, when he accepted the Mastership of University College.

His many friends in and around Manchester will be glad to join us in wishing him many years of happiness in his retirement, which will certainly not be spent in inactivity. Indeed, Sir Michael confesses that the chief reason why he had decided to retire was so that he would have time while still in good health to write, paint, and work in the garden. “My new home, The Rookery, at Headington, has delightful old associations,” he said. “It was at the bottom of the garden that Dunstan baptised Ethelred. In the shrubbery is an ancient Roman well, and there is a seventeenth-century walled garden. Part of the house is Tudor or seventeenth century, but the most beautiful part is Regency, about 1824.”

The Fourth Herford Memorial Lecture was delivered in the University of Manchester, on the 3rd of October, by Professor Lascelles Abercrombie, who took for his subject "Herford and International Literature." HERFORD
MEMORIAL
LECTURE.

Professor Abercrombie, who was a student at Manchester University when Herford was Professor of English there, spoke of the remarkable impression which Herford's personality made upon him during that time.

He recalled that Herford had not been a good disciplinarian. "There was a certain large class of his which provided recognised diversion for all sorts of students. It was the thing now and then to drop in and watch the hurly-burly. Herford was quite unconscious of the presence of aliens, as indeed he seemed to be—as I devoutly trust he was—of the uproar going on in front of him.

"With cruel clarity I still see him stooping over his desk, discoursing priceless things to a herd of merciless savages. His chief monument, however, was in his pupils. Though he may not have been successful with large classes, which did not reject the pearls he cast before them since they did not notice them—yet no teacher in our time has had more devoted pupils." Herford, he said, was a great critic of the art of literature. Much of his work belonged to the sphere of what might be called international literature. It might be said that there were four stages in criticism. The first was the study of the circumstances of an author—of his life as an artist. The second was the study of his whole career. As a work of art had its place in the progress of an author's career, so the author's career had its place in a national literature. The next stage, then, was literary history. The last stage in the ascent and enlargement of criticism was the study of international literature.

"The term international literature," he said, "should refer not so much to the direct influence of nation upon nation (though that cannot, of course, be excluded from this meaning) as to the spirit of European literature as a whole—that infinitely complex, perpetually changing yet perfectly continuous tradition in which the genius of each particular nation lives and works in its own particular way and to which, too, each may make its

own contribution." A true internationalism completed and crowned our understanding of national traditions.

"Herford was deeply interested in all the most recent developments of literature and whether in the work of individual authors, as in 'Gabriele d'Annunzio,' or nations, as in 'The mind of Post-war Germany' or 'The culture of Bolshevist Russia,' could show how it stands in international tradition—what it has received, how it has used this, and what in turn it may be capable of contributing. And whatever may eventually happen in Italy or Germany or Russia historians of European literature will find something very much to their purpose in these essays.

"It must be admitted that our knowledge and understanding of international literature has a long way to go ; but the importance of the study, as the meticulous labours of the comparatists accumulate their results, is likely to become more and more evident. Herford, too, working in quite a different manner, has at least shown the status of these studies in literary criticism. For that is what characterises his work : it is throughout informed by the spirit and purpose of criticism. Herford could not study literature without having his eye on artistic merit. His business was not merely with the phenomena of international literature, as that of the comparatists is, but with their use." His study was but one form of his aspiration to ascend "to that internationalism which, far from damaging or abrogating nationalism, adds a new value to it. For such an internationalism in all things, with a deep perception of the calamitous alternative, Herford's whole life is a plea. The world, for the time being at any rate, has decided against him."

Readers may be glad to know that the following reprints of lectures delivered by the late Professor in the John Rylands Library are still obtainable at the prices indicated, on application to the librarian : "Gabriele d'Annunzio," 1920, pp. 27, 1s. "Dante and Milton," 1924, pp. 36, 1s. 6d. "Lessing," 1923, pp. 22, 1s. "The mind of Post-war Germany," 1926, pp. 47, 1s. 6d. "National and international ideals in the English Poets," 1916, pp. 24, 1s. "Norse myth in English poetry," 1919, pp. 31, 1s. "The poetry of Lucretius," 1918, pp. 26,

1s. "Recent tendencies in European poetry," 1921, pp. 27,
 1s. "A Russian Shakespearean: a centenary study," 1925,
 pp. 30, 1s. 6d. "Shakespeare and the Arts," 1927, pp. 13, 1s.
 "A sketch of the history of Shakespeare's influence on the
 Continent," 1925, pp. 48, 1s. 6d. "Some approaches to
 Religion through Poetry during the past two generations,"
 1922, pp. 33, 1s.

Since the above paragraphs were written arrangements have been made with the Manchester Dante Society, under whose auspices Professor Abercrombie's lecture was given, to print it in full in the present issue.

The Committee on the History of Parliament has issued an appeal to the public for assistance towards their proposed history of the institution and personnel of Parliament. ^{HISTORY OF PARLIAMENT.} The scheme contemplated is a division of the 700 years of parliamentary history into seventeen parts, with three more for Scotland and Ireland before the Union. Each volume is to be the work of historians, and the research necessary for each is likely to cost two thousand pounds. The first volumes are approaching completion, and publication should start in 1935. So far the expense of the work has been met by a grant from the Pilgrim Trust and by private effort. The Government has promised to publish the work provided that money for research is found by private subscription, but they will not start until £15,000 is available; £30,000 will be required for the completion of the forty volumes. His Majesty the King has subscribed to the fund, and the Committee is now appealing "to the wider public of all those who love England and those free institutions which have been throughout history our greatest contribution to the world and to the inspiration of freedom."

Donations, small or large, may be sent to the Treasurer of the Committee, Mr. John Buchan, M.P., at the House of Commons.

The new organisation, which has for its object the preservation of business archives, to which reference was made in our last issue (July, 1934) has been duly ^{BUSINESS ARCHIVES.} launched under the title, "The Council for the Preservation of Business Archives."

Briefly stated, the aims of the Council are :

To promote the preservation of archives which bear upon the history of commercial and industrial enterprise, and of economic relationships generally ; to further their accessibility to students and to collect information which will promote these aims. To accept responsibility, at discretion, for archives which cannot otherwise be rescued from oblivion ; to appoint corresponding members ; to undertake such publications as may further the objects of the Council ; and to establish a fund or funds to enable the objects of the Council to be carried out.

Every year masses of old records are destroyed for lack of storage accommodation, or because they are no longer of any service to the businesses to which they relate, with the result that records of the struggles, achievements and failures of many business enterprises are allowed to sink into oblivion. In cases which have been brought to our knowledge papers consisting of old ledgers, correspondence and other business records have been temporarily stored, for want of better accommodation, in unsuitable buildings such as stables, outhouses and lofts, where they are likely to suffer irreparable damage from damp and neglect, to be ultimately turned out by thoughtless executors as worthless lumber to find its way to the paper mill and to destruction.

Such documents form part of the essential source material for the history of business enterprise, and for the economic history of the country and its commercial relations abroad.

Hitherto, for this class of material, there has been no expert official advice available as to what, without serious loss, may be destroyed, and what should be preserved. It is true that the Historical Manuscript Commission is willing to advise owners as to the care and preservation of collections of documents of national importance, such as they are mainly concerned with, but for other classes of manuscript matter so often considered to be purely ephemeral no such official advice has been available.

These services are now offered by the Council for the Preservation of Business Archives, which has been founded to act as a clearing house for information regarding such records.

The Council's immediate object is to map out the ground by the compilation of a register of all records of one hundred years old or more. Already it has been possible to list the names of four hundred firms in the London district alone, which were founded before 1830. The Council is anxious to extend this list, both for London and for the kingdom in general, and appeals to all business concerns of old standing to inform it of their age, their business, and the nature of any early records which they may possess.

The information thus obtained will be made available, on written application, to approved students, at the Council's headquarters: The Institute of Historical Research, Malet Street, London, W.C. 1.

Inquiries relating to the activities of the Council, and to the disposition of privately owned records, may be addressed to the Honorary Secretaries of the Council, at its headquarters, who will supply copies of the standard questionnaire on request.

It may not be out of place again to remind readers that at the request of the Master of the Rolls this library has undertaken to act as the approved depository, under the provisions of the Law and Property Amendment Act, 1924," for the counties of Cheshire and Lancashire, and already many collections have been either acquired or entrusted to our care, consisting of manorial rolls, charters, and similar documents, including a large collection of papers, account books, and records of all kinds relating to a large muslin and cotton mill at Mellor, founded by Samuel Oldknow in the latter part of the eighteenth century, which subsequently passed into the hands of the Arkwright family.

We renew the offer we have made from time to time in these pages, of any help within our power in the form of advice, and of our willingness to take charge of any such collections as may relate to the North of England, more especially to the counties of Cheshire and Lancashire, and to make them accessible to any approved student who may wish to consult them.

Mr. V. H. Galbraith, Reader in Diplomatic at the University of Oxford, has rendered a real service to students of history by the publication of his extremely practical "Introduction to the Use of Public Records" (Oxford University Press, 5s. net).

USE OF
PUBLIC
RECORDS.

The volume is designed to help students who are about to work among the national archives for the first time. They could not well have a better guide, for the author, before going to Oxford, was for a number of years an assistant keeper of the public records.

Mr. Galbraith describes the way in which the national collections have been accumulated, the meaning, the classification and the historical origins of the different classes of documents. He gives directions for the use of the catalogues in the Search Room, and furnishes a historical summary of the Record publications of the Government.

One of the most useful chapters is that which deals with the approach to records, and includes practical hints on palæography and the transcription of documents.

The appendices include a very useful list of books of reference, and the rules and regulations made by the Master of the Rolls respecting the public use of records.

The publication of this useful and handy volume is most timely, for interest in the work of safeguarding the manuscript sources of our national and local history is being greatly stimulated, as a result of the formation of such societies as the Public Records Association, and the Council for the Preservation of Business Records, in the administration of which the Master of the Rolls takes a very active part.

It may interest readers to learn that in the year 1800 paper made solely from straw was in use in London for printing purposes.

PAPER MADE
FROM STRAW
AND WOOD
IN 1800.

The book for which it was first employed, and of which a copy is in the Rylands Library, is entitled: "Historical Account of the substances which have been used to describe events, and to convey ideas, from the earliest date to the invention of paper. Printed on the first useful paper

manufactured solely [sic] from straw." *London, Printed by T. Burton, No. 31, Little Queen Street, 1800.*

The volume consists of 92 pages in folio, and is printed upon paper of a somewhat coarse texture, of a yellowish brown colour. The presence of water-marks and laid lines is evidence that the paper was made by means of the customary hand mould.

The work was published anonymously, but the dedication to King George III. is signed, in manuscript, with the author's name and address: "Matth^s. Koops, 18 Queen Street Ranelagh," September, 1800. In a second edition, published in the following year (1801), the author's name is printed in full as "Matthias Koops."

The author was a paper-maker at Neckinger Mill in 1799, and in the dedication of his work to: "Most Gracious Sovereign" we learn that the King having been pleased to grant patents for extracting printing and writing ink from waste paper, by reducing it to a pulp, and converting it into white paper, fit for printing and other purposes; and also for manufacturing paper from straw, hay, thistles, waste and refuse of hemp and flax, and different kinds of wood and bark, fit for printing and other useful purposes, he entreats permission to lay at His Majesty's feet the first useful paper which has ever been made from straw without any rags or addition, and on which the lines of the book are printed; but at the same time he begs leave to observe that the paper is not yet in such a state of perfection as it will hereafter be, when the necessary implements are completed and the manufactory regularly established and further advanced, but as there now can be no doubt that good useful paper may be manufactured solely from straw he presents to His Majesty the first paper so made.

In an appendix the author tells of his successful experiments with wood as follows:

"As an appendix to this little tract, I think it proper to submit a few more remarks on the national importance of discovering material which can be converted into paper, and grow sufficiently abundant in Great Britain, without the necessity of importing them from foreign countries.

"The following lines are printed upon paper made from

wood alone, the produce of this country, without any intermixture of rags, waste-paper, bark, straw, or any other vegetable substance from which paper might be, or has hitherto been manufactured, and of this the most ample testimony can be given if necessary.

"Having thus far succeeded in my researches, to make an useful paper from one kind of wood I doubt not, but, that I shall find many others equally eligible for the same purpose, of which I trust it will be in my power, within a few weeks, to give indisputable proof that my expectations have been well founded and that I have not cherished a visionary opinion."

These facts are interesting in the light of statements found in the recently published: "An enquiry into the nature of certain nineteenth-century pamphlets," by John Carter and Graham Pollard (London, 1934).

In the fourth chapter which deals with "The analysis of the paper" (pp. 43 *seq.*), it is stated:

"... The original raw material used for the manufacture of paper was rags; until 1861 this was the only material used for books, and it is still exclusively used for the more expensive grades. But the supply of rags which was sufficient at the beginning of the nineteenth century did not expand with the increasing demand for paper. The discrepancy had become so serious by 1854 that *The Times* offered a premium of £1000 for the discovery of an efficient substitute: this premium was still unawarded in 1861. The scarcity of rags led to experiments in the use of straw by William Thomas of Maidstone in 1851; and although there had been previous attempts, notably that of Matthias Koops at Neckinger Mill in 1799, Thomas was the first to market straw paper for any continuous periods."

As proof that straw and also wood were being employed in the manufacture of printing papers, as early as 1800, we need only refer to the work of Matthias Koops described above.

Students of "The Shepherd of Hermas" will be grateful to the University of Michigan, and to the editor of the volume, Mr. Campbell Bonner, for the publication of the interesting papyrus codex of "The Shepherd of Hermas" which was acquired as long ago

THE
SHEPHERD OF
HERMAS.

as 1922. It belonged to a lot of papyri purchased jointly by the British Museum and the University of Michigan, and when the division was made the "Hermas" sheets fell to the share of Michigan.

In his introduction, Professor Campbell Bonner deals very fully with the condition, palæography, punctuation, spelling and grammatical forms of the text.

Dealing with the history of the manuscript the editor tells us that the leaves were bought from a well-known dealer in Cairo, who said, as he was doubtless told by the native from whom he obtained them, that they came from Batn-el-Harit, the ancient Theladelphia.

Shortly after this deal had been settled, another lot of smaller pieces and fragments of papyri, was bought for the two co-operating institutions. Upon examination it was found that some of the pieces were fragments of the "Hermas" codex, and they also were assigned to Michigan.

The delicate work of reconstructing the papyrus, by placing in position the small fragments and joining the pieces, was carried out by the editor in the library of the University of Michigan.

Many of the leaves are sadly frayed and lacerated.

The extent of the codex in its original form is estimated to have consisted of three gathers of 16, 18, and 16 sheets respectively, or roughly speaking of two hundred pages, but it is not possible to arrive at any reasonably definite opinion as to the make-up of the codex, whether in one large single gathering of sheets, or of several gatherings.

The manuscript is written in one sloping uncial hand throughout, which competent authorities have assigned to the third century, and to judge from the facsimiles which accompany the volume there can be no reason for placing it later than the latter part of the third century.

The text of the newly discovered papyrus, by reason of its comparative freedom from gross errors in spelling, is said to show that the scribe was a man of some education. In a number of passages a genuine Greek text is preserved, where previous editors have been obliged to reconstruct it from the Latin or Ethiopic versions.

The work forms vol. 22 in the "Humanistic Series of the University of Michigan Studies."

Sir Thomas Malory's "Le Morte d'Arthur" has been described as a splendid patchwork of romance.

The first printer of the work, William Caxton, who was probably also the editor, has laid English literature under an immense obligation by ensuring its preservation.

MALORY'S
MORT
D'ARTHUR.

The principal sources of the compilation were the French romances of Lancelot and Merlin, Tristram, and an early English metrical romance. But the work occupies a position in English literature infinitely higher than the French originals, and its vitality to-day, four hundred and fifty years after its first publication, is as great as ever it was.

The printer, in his preface tells us that the impression was made from the author's own copy. Here are Caxton's own quaint words :

" . . . I haue after the symple connyng that god hath sente to me | under the fauour and correctyon of al noble lordes and gentylmen enprysed to enprynte a book of the noble hystories of the sayde kyng Arthur | and of certeyn of his knyghtes after a cotype unto me delyuerd | whyche cotype Sir Thomas Malorye dyd take oute of certeyn bookes of frensshe and reduced it in to Englysshe | And I according to my cotype haue doon sette it in enprynte. . . ."

Until a few months ago no manuscript of the work was known to exist, and great interest has been aroused by the discovery in the Fellows' Library of Winchester College of a manuscript of the work, which must have been a fair copy made from the author's own copy to which Caxton refers, for it shows no signs of having passed through the hands of the compositors in the printing office.

What a piece of good fortune it would be if the discovery of the Winchester manuscript should lead to the recovery of Malory's "own copy," hidden away in an obscure corner of some library !

Although much labour has been devoted to the study of Malory he has remained a baffling figure, and no definite

knowledge of him has been possible beyond that which is contained in the concluding words of the printed text :

" Here is the ende of the booke of kyng Arthur & of his noble knyghtes of the rounde table | that whan they were hole togyders there was euer an c and xl | and here is the ende of the deth of Arthur | I praye you all jentyl men and jentyl wymmen that redeth this book of Arthur and his knyghtes from the begynnyng to the endyng | pray for me whyle I am on lyue that god sende me good delyueraunce | & whan I am deed I praye you all praye for my soule | for this boke was ended the ix yere of the reygne of kyng edward the fourth [1469-1470] by syr Thomas Maleore knyght as jhesu helpe hym for hys grete myght | as he is the seruaunt of Jhesu bothe day and nyght " |

This is followed by the printer's colophon :

¶ Thus endeth thys noble and joyous book entytled le morte Darthur | notwithstandyng it treateth of the byrth | lyf | and actes of the sayd kyng Arthur | of his noble knyghtes of the rounde table | theyr mervayllous enquestes and adventures | thachyeuynge of the sangreal | and in thende the dolorous deth & departyng out of thys world of them al | whiche book was reduced in to englysshe by syr Thomas Malory knyght as afore is sayd | and by me deuyded in to xxi bookes chapytred and enprynted | and fynysshed in thabbey westmestre the last day of juyll the yere of our lord | M | CCCC | lxxxv |

¶ Caxton me fieri fecit

Professor E. Vinaver¹ has been at some trouble to establish the identity of our author, and has succeeded in tracking down a Sir Thomas Malory, known to be alive when the author of the "Morte d'Arthur" completed his work, between the years 1469 and 1470. He was charged with certain misdemeanours and committed to prison. Whether death found him in prison or that he was set free soon after 1468 remains to be determined. He died on the 14th of March, 1471, and was buried in the chapel of St. Francis at Greyfriars in London, and it has been suggested that he may have died a prisoner in Newgate.

It was probably during Malory's seclusion in prison that he wrote the largest part, if not the whole, of his work.

The Winchester manuscript is in the handwriting of at least two scribes, evidently working at the same time. It has lost a gathering of leaves at either end, but the loss does not amount to more than a few leaves. Its provenance is unknown,

¹ "Malory," by Eugène Vinaver (Oxford Univ. Press, 1929).

and it was through the absence of any "incipit" that its identity has so long remained undetected.

The major divisions of the manuscript are the same as those in Caxton's printed edition. They are followed by colophons which in most instances are much fuller than those Caxton printed, and it would appear that these are clearly shortened versions of those found in the manuscript.

There are many discrepancies between the text of the manuscript and that of Caxton, which may mean that the author's own copy, from which Caxton worked, differed from the Winchester manuscript, or it may mean that Caxton did not keep closely to his copy, but omitted whole passages, and touched up others where the grammar seemed to him to need it.

The discovery of the Winchester manuscript is an event of the very highest importance to any future editor of the work. It will form the basis of a new edition which Professor E. Vinaver has in hand, and for whose use the Fellows of Winchester College have entrusted it to the custody of the Rylands Librarian.

It may not be out of place to remind readers that of the printed edition of the "Morte d'Arthur," issued from the press of Caxton, at Westminster, in 1485, only two copies are known to have survived, one in the John Rylands Library, the other in the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York.

In 1498, Wynkyn de Worde, the successor of Caxton (who had died in 1491) issued from the same printing office at Westminster a second edition of the work, which differs considerably from Caxton's text, not only in orthography, but in that words are transposed, added, or omitted, and obsolete forms are frequently exchanged for modern ones. Perhaps the most interesting feature of this second edition is that it is illustrated with a woodcut at the commencement of each book. Of this edition the only copy known to have survived is that in the John Rylands Library.

Dr. Aziz Suryal Atiya has rendered a signal service to medieval scholarship by the publication of his "The Crusade of Nicopolis" (London: Methuen, 10s. 6d.).

THE LAST
CRUSADE.

This study of the last of the great medieval crusades of the West, and one of the earliest and most important chapters of

the history of the Eastern Question, is based upon an exhaustive examination of Western and Oriental sources, both manuscript and printed, as well as upon a personal examination of the battlefield and its approaches in Bulgaria.

The aim of the writer has been to strengthen the conception increasingly held among scholars that the medieval crusades survived the death of St. Louis outside the walls of Tunis, in 1270, and that attempts to save the Holy Land persisted after the fall of Acre in 1291. Indeed, the crusading movement is shown to have continued to be a force in European politics until the Crusade of Nicopolis, in the last decade of the fourteenth century.

The work is not only thoroughly documented and annotated, but is furnished with an exhaustive bibliography. Dr. Atiya is to be warmly congratulated upon his work. It bears evidence of intensive research on every page, and at the same time is eminently readable.

The fourth day of the month of October, 1535, marks the four-hundredth anniversary of the publication of the first complete Bible to be printed in English.

The translation was made by Miles Coverdale, a Yorkshireman educated at Cambridge, who spent many years on the Continent. He was consecrated Bishop of Exeter in 1551, and deprived in 1553.

400th ANNIVERSARY OF THE PUBLICATION OF THE FIRST COMPLETE ENGLISH BIBLE.

Though his work does not rank beside Tindale's, it was Coverdale's glory to produce the first printed English Bible and to leave to posterity a permanent memorial of his genius in that most musical version of the Psalter which passed into the Book of Common Prayer, and has endeared itself to generations of Englishmen.

Coverdale's Bible, like the New Testament and the Pentateuch of Tindale, was born in exile. It was printed abroad, and although nothing definite is known as to the place of printing or name of printer, certain features point to Zurich as the most likely place, and to Christopher Froschover as the probable printer.

The colophon at the end of the text of the New Testament

reads simply: "Prynted in the yeare of oure LORDE M.D.xxxv. and fynished the fourth daye of October."

Two copies of the Bible are preserved in the Rylands Library, and it is proposed to commemorate this anniversary by arranging in the main library an exhibition to illustrate the history of the transmission of the Bible.

The object we shall keep in view, in the selection and arrangement of the exhibits, will be to illustrate the transmission of the Bible through the various stages of its eventful history from the original texts and early versions down to the Revised English Version of 1881-98.

The month of October last was chosen by the people of Persia to celebrate the thousandth anniversary of the birth of their national poet, Firdausí, and on the 15th of that month His Majesty the Shah visited the tomb of the poet at Tūs and thanked those who had gathered from all parts of the world to assist his people to do honour to the memory of their national poet.

PERSIA'S
NATIONAL
POET.

This was the first time that such a celebration had taken place in Persia, and it would seem to indicate that the present nationalist revival in that country has been accompanied by a new interest in her literary monuments.

Persian is described as the softest and richest language in the world. It is so peculiarly adapted to the purposes of poetry that there have been more poets produced in Persia than in all the nations of Europe put together, and yet, except for Sa'dí, Hafíz, Jalal'ud Dín Rúmí, 'Umar Khayyam, and Firdausí, there are few whose names are known to English readers.

Poetry has ever been and still is held in the greatest veneration in the East, and its admirers include almost the whole population. In both the Arabic and the Persian languages not only books of polite literature, but histories without number, and all manner of treatises on science, are recorded in verse. Physics, mathematics, ethics, medicine, natural history, astronomy, grammar, and even cookery all lend themselves to verse.

Arabic long continued in Persia to be the court language in all transactions of the State, the native Persian, written in

Pahlawi characters, being thought barbarous and impolite. Only slowly was advantage taken of the Arabic alphabet for the writing of Persian, and it was not until the tenth century that the Persians roused themselves from the Arab domination and commenced to write prose and verse in their own language, which was impregnated with Arabic words. In this way, the foundation of the modern Persian literature was laid, and in the tenth century both the language and the poetry in the form used to-day became firmly established.

Firdausí, whose real name was Abu'l-Qásim Hasan b. Alí of Tūs, variously described as "The Chaucer of Persia," "The Father of his Language," and "The Homer of his Country," was the greatest epic poet of Persia, and one of the foremost poets of all literature. He was born at Shadáb, a dependent township of Tūs in Khurásán, about A.H. 324 (A.D. 934). He is said to have taken his pen-name from a garden in that district called Firdaws (Paradise), belonging to the 'Amíd of Khurásán, Súrí b. Mughíra, whose servant his father was. He had an only daughter, and his principal object in composing his great poem, we are told, was to provide her with an adequate dowry, and to that end he sought a wealthy patron who would bestow on him an adequate reward for his toil.

Firdausí was not the first poet of Persia to write an epic. His most noteworthy predecessor, who also flourished in the tenth century, was Daqíqí, who commenced a poetical version of the history of Persia, but when he had completed a thousand couplets of his epic he met with an untimely end. It was then that Firdausí conceived the ambitious design of himself carrying out the work, incorporating the thousand couplets of Daqíqí, but not without acknowledging his indebtedness to his predecessor.

At the age of fifty Firdausí, who hitherto had lived in his native village without seeking fame beyond, was attracted by the fame and magnificence of the Sultan Mahmūd and taking with him the completed portion of his *Shahnamah* he set out for Ghazna. The work was brought to the notice of the Sultan, who expressed himself as pleased with it, and commanded Firdausí to continue in his faultless verse a history of

the monarchs of Persia, his predecessors, and for every thousand couplets a thousand pieces of gold should be his reward. Firdausí, however, who wrote for fame and not for reward, though poor, resolved to accept no reward until he had completed the work he had undertaken.

For thirty years he laboured that his poem might be worthy of eternal fame. Thirty years is a long time to make a monarch wait for a promised work, and it is not surprising to learn that the patience of the Sultan was exhausted and his enthusiasm gone, when, at the age of eighty, Firdausí sent an exquisitely written copy of his epic to the Sultan, who received it unmoved. The Grand-Vizier made deprecatory remarks concerning it, and the aged poet's long looked-for work was treated with contempt.

The astonished author, startled at the silence of his royal patron, began to reflect upon his position. He had for a number of years neglected all his worldly affairs in order to give himself entirely to his great work. It was not unnatural that his resentment at this ingratitude and neglect should find expression in uncomplimentary couplets which, when they reached the ear of Mahmūd, caused him great uneasiness.

Shamed and offended the Sultan ordered 60,000 small pieces of silver money (of the value of sixpence) to be sent to the poet in sealed bags, instead of the pieces of gold he had been promised and won. Firdausí was in the bath when the money arrived, and when the bags had been opened his rage was such that he caused the money to be distributed between the bath attendants, the sherbert seller, and the slave who brought it.

After a time Firdausí's spirit rose superior to his sorrow and vexation, his former energy and dignity returned, and he relieved his mind by a satire full of stinging invective which he caused to be transmitted to the Sultan.

Having thus prepared his vengeance Firdausí quitted the ungrateful court and sought shelter with the Caliph of Baghdad, Kadi Billah, in whose honour a thousand couplets were added to the *Shahnamah*.

Meanwhile Firdausí's magnificent verses revived his fame, and awakened the remorse of the Shah, who, thinking by a tardy act of liberality to atone for his former meanness dispatched

to the poet the 60,000 gold pieces he had promised to him, a robe of State, many apologies, with expressions of friendship and admiration, requesting his return. But it was too late. Firdausí was dead, having expired in his native town of Tūs, full of years and honours, surrounded by his friends and kindred.

Firdausí's family, knowing his wishes, devoted the whole of the 60,000 pieces of gold to the benevolent purposes he had intended, namely, the general improvement of the place of his birth.

The poem of 60,000 couplets contains more than seven times the amount of the *Iliad*. It traces the history of Persia from the mythical ruler Gayomart, who lived according to Iranian tradition about 3600 B.C., to the Mohammedan conquest in A.D. 641. It treats first of the legendary kings of Iran Gayomart, Hoshang, Tahmuras, and Jamshíd who was the most famous of them all and reigned five hundred years during the golden age of the earth. Following this happy period came the evil rule of the Arab Dahak or Zohak, who was tempted by Ahriman, his own ancestor, and fell into sin and evil ways until the smith Kavah set up his leathern apron as the banner of revolt, and Ferídún, the Thraetaona of the Avesta, came and bound the tyrant and confined him beneath Mount Demavend on the shores of the Caspian. The long reign of Ferídún was darkened by the strife of his three sons, among whom he had divided the kingdom. He was succeeded by Minochihr. At this point of the poem Firdausí has inserted an episode of great beauty which recounts the loves of Zal, of the royal line of Iran, and Rudabah, the daughter of the King of Kabul, whose union was blessed by the birth of the most romantic of all the heroes of the *Shahnamah*, Rustam, who occupies a position in Iranian legend somewhat analagous to that of Hercules in the classic literature.

It was Rustam who, during the reign of Kaus, won Mazanderan for the Persian king, and performed seven romantic and perilous quests before he could succeed. It was he who in combat unwittingly slew his son Suhrab, who, ignorant of his paternity, was fighting among the foes of Iran. Later, he invaded Turan to avenge the murder of Syavush, a son of Kaus.

He fought also with Firud, King of India, and with the powerful Turanian ruler Kamus. From this time until the dawn of the historical period the poem is occupied mainly with accounts of the wars between the Iranians and their hereditary foes, the Turanians.

With the opening of the reign of Gushtasp there is an episode of extreme importance giving an account of Zarathustra. The interest of the epic which flagged for a time revives, and is continued by the legend of the seven adventures of Isfandíyar, the son of Gushtasp. The father's jealousy, however, caused his son to be imprisoned, until his aid against the Turanian Arjasp became indispensable. He was released, but as soon as possible was sent by Gushtasp on further adventures, and at last was craftily matched in a duel with Rustam, by whom the younger hero was slain, while Rustam himself was soon afterwards killed in battle.

There is no mention in the *Shahnamah* of the Achæmenian kings. The history takes a leap to the Sassanidae. According to Firdausí Gushtasp was succeeded by Bahman and his son, Dara or Darius, who married a daughter of the Byzantine Emperor of Rum. This princess was soon divorced by Dara and gave birth at Byzantium to Iskandar, or Alexander the Great.

The remainder of the epic is of less interest. It traces the reigns of the Sassanian kings down to the death of Yezdegird III., the last of the Sassanian kings whose kingdom was conquered by the invading Arabs in the middle of the seventh century. Interwoven in this latter part of the epic, and elsewhere, are numerous episodes of much interest, including the story of the seven banquets of Nushirvan with the sages, of whom he inquires concerning a mysterious dream, the introduction of chess from India into Persia during the reign of the same monarch, and the story of the loves of King Kosru Parviz and Queen Shirin.

The *Shahnamah* is a valuable source for the early history of Iran. Firdausí evidently had a patriotic motive in writing it in addition to his poetic incentive. He desired to keep alive the glories of the deeds and faith of the ancestors of the Persians in order that they might not become mere puppets under Arab domination. While it is considered a mark of elegance in

other Persian poetry to employ as large an element of Arabic as possible Firdausí adheres throughout to the native Persian vocabulary and the percentage of Arabic words in his work is small.

The work has been translated in its entirety into three European languages: French, Italian, and English. The English rendering was made by the brothers Arthur, George, and Edmond Warner and appeared in eight volumes in 1905; a ninth volume containing a very full index was published in 1925. Long extracts have been translated and published by a dozen Englishmen, of which the best known is that by James Atkinson.

Thirteen manuscripts of the original Persian text are in the possession of the John Rylands Library, dating from about 1450 to the end of the eighteenth century. The most important is one which formerly belonged to the King of Oude, is dated 1542, and like several others is illustrated with exquisite paintings, in some cases to the number of a hundred.

The following communication has been received from Mr. Richmond Noble, M.A., and we have pleasure in printing it, together with Professor Charlton's note:

HOW LIKE A FAWNING PUBLICAN HE LOOKS! One of the pleasures Shakespeare affords is the frequency of opportunity for a discussion of remarks by characters as though they were excerpts from Holy Writ on the right understanding of which might depend the ultimate fate of millions of souls. Thus, with all the zeal of theologians we can indulge in controversy over trifles that matter not, where none is damned and yet where all the satisfaction may be experienced that earnest opinion alone can yield. Professor Charlton, in his interesting monograph on Shakespeare's Jew (THE BULLETIN, Vol. 18, No. 1) touched upon one of these remarks when he referred to the ejaculation of Shylock on catching sight of Antonio—'How like a fawning publican he looks!'

SHAKE-
SPEARE'S
JEW.

Anyone desirous of an illustration of the bewilderment a simple remark of Shakespeare's can cause has only to turn to

this line in Furness's Variorium of the play to have all the illustration he could want. It gave great scope to the ingenuity of one commentator, Karl Elze, who related it to the Parable of the Pharisee and the Publican, and who tried to prove that the fawning contemned by Shylock was the publican's fawning on God. Professor Charlton very naturally avoided the ingenious theory of Karl Elze and fell back upon the sober if not very attractive explanation put forward by Aldis Wright. I venture to suggest another explanation.

Karl Elze was right in so far as he emphasized the fact that in *The Merchant of Venice* Shakespeare had made a close study of Hebrew character as disclosed in the Bible. Shylock was depicted as an orthodox Jew of Jewry, full of those prejudices which are the outcome of a carefully cultivated pride of race. He was not a caricature as was Marlowe's Barabas; he had both dignity and courage. He was not afraid of Christians, and was ready to battle with them on their own ground by quotation from their special book, The New Testament, and by appeal to their Master, The Nazarite. His implacability is shown by his repetition of the old offence in his preference for any of the stock of Barabbas, the murderer, to any of the followers of Christ. In the Trial scene he would concede nothing to the opposition, nor would he make any attempt to conciliate the Court—he stood on his rights, as a man who had done no wrong he feared no judgment, and therefore that judgment he demanded without reserve. In Shakespeare's time, when religious enthusiasm ran more strongly than perhaps it does now, this anti-Christian Jewishness of Shylock's would antagonise the audience more than it would at the present day.

It was this bitterness, this uncompromising Jewish attitude, that Shylock's opening remark was meant to convey to the audience. Antonio was hated for his smugness, for his superiority. Shylock gave vent to a venomous expression of class hatred. Shylock was no more than on sufferance, whereas Antonio was a supporter of the ruling authorities, one who licked the hand of the tyrant by gratuitously joining in the oppression of Shylock and his fellows.

This was the intention of 'How like a fawning publican he

looks !', however much it may miscarry with the reader or audience of to-day. Before we condemn the remark or assign it to someone other than Shakespeare, it would be well to inquire if we have correctly interpreted Shylock's meaning. In the eyes of Shylock's fellow-countrymen, publicans were not social pariahs ranking with harlots solely because they were tax gatherers. Ever since taxes were first imposed officials or farmers have had to be appointed to collect them, but such officials or farmers, whatever odium they might incur, did not suffer the extremity of social ostracism meted out to publicans by Jews. Nor in the minds of Shakespeare's audience was a publican of necessity an extortioner—presumably St. Matthew was a just publican and Zacchaeus had a conscience. Shylock's gibe obviously had nothing to do with any possible extortion practised by Antonio.

Shakespeare chose another aspect of the publicans to which commentators have paid insufficient attention. The odium attaching to the occupation of publican lay in the fact that to be a publican was to be a traitor and renegade, who deserted his own people in favour of the foreigner and assisted thereby in the oppression of his own kith and kin. To the Jewish Nationalist he was a man who fawned upon the foreign tyrant, and hence he became utterly outcast.

Antonio was in the extreme north of Shylock's esteem ; he was held by Shylock in utter contempt. It was not merely because he was a Christian, or that he lent money free of interest. Shylock regarded Antonio as a mean sycophant, who was obsequious to the ruling classes, but who like the publicans bullied and harried the Sacred Nation. His fawning, like that of the publicans, was on the powerful class above him. It was as though Shylock had muttered, 'See the bullying toady !', though even this would fail to invest the line with the Nationalist suggestion Shakespeare designed. A theatre audience in the time of Shakespeare (and it should be noted that popular Biblical knowledge then stood much higher than now, for the Bibles most in circulation were crammed with commentary) would naturally take the term 'publican' in the mouth of a Jew as one of absolute contempt and that would be sufficient in the theatre

where broad effects are mainly required. But if analysis is called for, I believe Shylock's application of 'fawning publican' to Antonio can be justified as appropriate having regard to all the circumstances of the play.

[RICHMOND NOBLE.]

I respect Mr. Noble's opinions. In retaining the particular line for Shylock, he is with the great majority of the best of Shakespeare's critics, and he puts his case more cogently than they do theirs. But I am unconvinced. That "Shylock regarded Antonio as a mean sycophant who was obsequious to the ruling classes but who like the publicans bullied and harried the Sacred Nation" appears to me a gratuitous supposition without warrant in any part of the play (the line at issue excepted). On a balance of probabilities, I think there is more to be said for the proposal to give the line to Antonio.

H. B. C.

The following list represents a selection of the works added to the shelves of the library since the publication of the last issue of the BULLETIN :

ACCESSIONS
TO THE
LIBRARY.

ART: BRITISH MUSEUM, "Woodcuts of the 15th Century in the Department of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum, edited by Campbell Dodgson, vol. 1," Folio ; "CORPUS VASORUM ANTIQUORUM, Italia: Museo . . . dei Cavalieri di Roma a cura di G. Jacopi," 4to ; "DE ARTE ILLUMINANDI: an anonymous 14th century treatise on the technique of manuscript illumination, translated from the Latin of Naples MS. XII, E. 27, by D. V. Thompson," 8vo ; DELEN (A. J. J.), "Histoire de la gravure dans les anciens Pays-Bas et dans les provinces Belges des origines jusqu'à la fin du 18me siècle, 2: Le 16e siècle," 4to ; MARLE (R. Van), "The development of the Italian Schools of Painting, vol. 15: The Renaissance painters of Central and Southern Italy," 8vo.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE, "Catalogue général des livres imprimés, tomes 126-127: Nuc-Ossat," 8vo ; BORCHLING AND CLAUSEN, "Niederdeutsche Bibliographie bis . . . zum Jahre 1800, Lief. 13-14: 1591-1626," 4to ; BRITISH MUSEUM, "General Catalogue of printed books, new edition,

vol. 8 : Aut.-Baes," Folio ; CASTAÑEDA Y ALCOVER (V.), "Indice sumario de los manuscritos Castellanos di genealogica heraldica y ordenes militares que se custodian en la Real Biblioteca di San Lorenzo del Escorial" (1917), 8vo ; CHAMPNEYS (M. C.), "An English bibliography of examinations (1900-32)," 8vo ; CHROUST (A.), "Monumenta palæographica, Serie 3, Lfg. 15," Folio ; "GESAMTKATALOG der Preussischen Bibliotheken, Band 5 : Anmerkaren-Apuntamiento," Folio ; GUTENBERG GESELLSCHAFT, "Veröffentlichungen 23 : Gutenberg und Schöffer," 4to ; JUDGE (C. B.), "Elizabethan book-pirates (Harvard Studies, 8)," 8vo ; LIBRARY LITERATURE, 1921-1932, "A supplement to Cannon's Bibliography of Library Economy, 1876-1920," 8vo ; MARTIN (E. A.), "A bibliography of Gilbert White of Selborne, with a bibliography and descriptive account of the village of Selborne," 8vo ; NIELSEN (L.), "Dansk Typografisk Atlas, 1482-1600," Folio ; OLIVIER (E.), and others, "Manuel de l' amateur de reliures armoriées françaises," 4to ; SINGER (D. W.), "Catalogue of Latin and vernacular alchemical MSS. in Great Britain and Ireland dating from before the 16th century," 3 vols, 8vo.

HISTORY AND ARCHÆOLOGY : ALSACE, "Bibliographie Alsacienne : revue critique des publications concernant l'Alsace, tome 4 : 1925-1930," 8vo ; AMERICA, "Dictionary of American Biography, edited by D. Malone, vols. 13-14 : Mills-Plat," 2 vols, 8vo ; ANDRÉ (L.), "Les sources de l' histoire de France, 17e siècle 1610-1715," 7 vols., 8vo ; ARCHÆOLOGIA, "Miscellaneous tracts relating to antiquity, published by the Soc. of Antiquaries, vol. 83 (1903)," 4to ; ATIYA (A. S.), "The crusade of Nicopolis (c. 1396)," 8vo ; ANTAL (G. von) and PATER (J. O. H. de), "Weenske Gezantschapsberichten van 1670 tot 1720," 2 vols., 4to ; AYNARD (J.), "La bourgeoisie française : essai de psychologie," 8vo ; BAKER (G. P.), "Twelve centuries of Rome," 8vo ; BALSDON (J. P. V. D.), "The emperor Gaius," 8vo ; BARRACLOUGH (G.), "Public notaries and the papal Curia : a calendar and a study of the 'Formularium notariorum curie' from the early years of the 14th century," 8vo ; BARRON (E. M.), "The Scottish War of Independence : a critical study, second revised and enlarged edition," 8vo ;

BASIN (T.), "Histoire de Charles VII, édité et traduite par C. Samaran, tome 1 : 1407-1444," 8vo ; BEER (K.), "Die Reformation Kaiser Sigmunds : eine Schrift des 15 Jhdts. zur Kirchen- und Reichsreform," 8vo ; BEYROUTH, "Mélanges de l'Université Saint Joseph, Beyrout, tome 17 (1934)," 8vo ; BINNS (L. E.), "The decline and fall of the medieval Papacy," 8vo ; BOWEN (Marjorie), "Mary, Queen of Scots," 8vo ; BRACON (H. de), "De legibus et consuetudines Angliae, edited by Woodbine," 2 vols., 8vo ; BRYANT (A.), "The England of Charles the Second," 8vo ; BUCHAN (John), "Oliver Cromwell," 8vo ; BYZANTION, "Revue Internationale des Etudes Byzantines," 9 vols, 8vo ; CAHIERS DE LA RÉVOLUTION FRANÇAISE, "Les paysans, la question du pain, le partage des biens, Babeuf," 8vo ; CAIRO MUSEUM, "Catalogue général des antiquités Egyptiennes, 1-1294 : Statuen und Statuetten von Königen und Privatleuten, von L. Borchardt," 4to ; CANTERBURY, "Prerogative Court : Register 'Scroope,' 1630, abstracts and index by J. H. Morrison," 4to ; GARVIN (J. L.), "Life of Joseph Chamberlain," 3 vols., 8vo. ; COOPER (W.), "The history and records of the parish of Wootton Wawen, including the township of Henley-in-Arden, Warwick," 8vo ; CUBBON (W.), "A bibliographical account of works relating to the Isle of Man with memoranda and copious literary references," 8vo ; DARTIGUEPEYRON (C.), "Le Vicomte de Béarn sous le règne d'Henri d'Albret, 1517-1555," 8vo ; DAURELLE (J.), "Venice et ses monuments d'après les archives," 8vo ; DUBLIN, "Calendar of ancient records of Dublin . . . edited by Lady Gilbert, vol. 18," 8vo ; EAST INDIA COMPANY, "Court Minutes, 1674-76, edited by E. B. Saintsbury," 8vo ; EBELING (E.) and MEISSNER (B.), "Reallexikon der Assyriologie, 1-2 : A.-Daten," 2 vols., 8vo ; EDWARDS (J. E.), "The 1820 settlers in South Africa : a study in British colonial policy," 8vo ; ESHER (Reginald, Viscount), "Journals and letters, edited by Maurice V. Brett, vol. 1 : 1870-1903," 8vo ; "EURASIA SEPTENTRIONALIS ANTIQUA, 9 : Minns volume, sive opuscula quaedam praehistorica et archæologica ad barbarorum praesertim regiones quae inter orientem et aquilonem spectant pertinentia," 4to ; EUROPEAN CIVILIZATION, "Its origin and development, by various contributors under

the direction of Edward Eyre," 6 vols., 8vo ; FARNELL (Lewis R.), "An Oxonian looks back," 8vo ; FERNANDEZ-ALMAGIO (M.), "Historia del Reinado de Don Alfonso XIII," 8vo ; GERLAND (E.), "Das Studium der Byzantinischen Geschichte vom Humanismus bis zur Jetztzeit," 8vo ; GEORGE (David Lloyd), "War Memoirs," 3 vols., 8vo ; GLASGOW, "The Records of the Trade Houses of Glasgow, 1713-1777, edited with historical introduction by H. Lumsden," 4to ; GRANET (M.), "La pensée chinoise," 8vo ; GRENFELL (Sir W.), "The romance of Labrador," 8vo ; HAAS (Jacob de), "History of Palestine: the last two thousand years," 8vo ; HAMMOND (J. L.), "C. P. Scott of the 'Manchester Guardian,'" 8vo ; HÉRETIER (J.), "Marie Stuart et la meurtre de Darnley," 8vo ; HODGKIN (R. H.), "A history of the Anglo-Saxons," 2 vols., 8vo ; HOFFMANN (W.), "Rom und die griechische Welt im 4 Jahrhundert," 8vo ; HOME (G. J. N. Logan), "History of the Logan Family with illustrations," 8vo ; IKBAL ALI SHAH, "Kamal: the maker of Modern Turkey," 8vo ; INNES OF LEARNEY (T.), "Scots heraldry: a practical handbook," 8vo ; IRISH MSS. COMMISSION, "Calendar of Ormond Deeds, edited by E. Curtin," 2 vols., 8vo ; IRISH MSS. COMMISSION, "The Civil Survey, A.D. 1654-1656, co. of Tipperary," 8vo ; KEHR (P.), "Die Belehnungen der Suditalienischen Norman-neufürsten durch die Päpste (1059-1192)," 8vo ; KÖSTER (A.), "Studien zur Geschichte des antiken Seewesens," 8vo ; LATOURETTE (K. S.), "The Chinese: their history and culture," 2 vols., 4to ; LEICESTER, "A calendar of charters and other documents belonging to the Hospital of William Wyggeston, Leicester, by A. Hamilton Thompson," 4to ; LLOYD (Lord), "Egypt since Cromer," 2 vols., 8vo ; LOT (F.), "Nennius et l'histoire Brittonium: étude critique," 8vo ; MACARTNEY (C. A.), "Hungary," 8vo ; MACKENZIE (A. Mure), "Robert Bruce, King of Scotland," 8vo ; MCKENNY (J.) and HALL (J.), "The Indian tribes of North America, with biographical sketches and anecdotes of the principal chiefs, new edition by F. W. Hodge," 123 plates, 3 vols., 8vo ; MARION (M.), "Le brigandage pendant la révolution," 8vo ; MARRIOTT (Sir J. A. R.), "Modern England, 1885-1932," 8vo ; MARTIN (F.), "Mémoires de F. Martin,

fondateur de Pondichéry (1665-1694), publiés par A. Martineau," 3 vols., 8vo ; MESNIL DU BUISSON (Comte de), "La technique des fouilles archéologiques : les principes généraux," 8vo ; MITCHELL (J. L.), "The conquest of Maya," 8vo ; MOWAT (R. B.), "The age of reason : the continent of Europe in the 18th century," 8vo ; MORE (L. T.), "Isaac Newton : a biography (1642-1727)," 8vo ; MUNRO (Ion S.), "Through Fascism to world power : a complete history of the revolution in Italy," 8vo ; NORWICH, "The register of the Freemen of Norwich, 1548-1713 : a transcript with introduction and index by P. Millican," 8vo ; OGG (David), "England in the reign of Charles II," 2 vols., 8vo ; OXFORD HISTORY OF ENGLAND, "The later Stuarts, 1660-1714, by G. N. Clark," 8vo ; PALANQUE (J. R.), "Saint Ambroise et l'Empire romain : contribution à l'histoire des rapports de l'église et de l'état à la fin du 4me siècle," 8vo ; PETIT-DUTAILLIS (C. L.), "La monarchie féodale en France et Angleterre 10-13e siècles," 8vo ; PICKTHORN (K.), "Early Tudor Government : Henry VII and Henry VIII," 2 vols., 8vo ; PIRCHEGGER (H.), "Geschichte der Steiermark 1740-1919 and die Kultur und Wirtschaftsgeschichte 1500-1919," 3 vols., 8vo ; POOLE (R. Lane), "Studies in chronology and history, collected and edited by A. Lane Poole," 8vo ; POWER (B.) and MOSS (R. L. B.), "Topographical bibliography of ancient Egypt hieroglyphic texts, reliefs, and paintings," 4 vols., 8vo ; ROSENBERG (A.), "A history of bolshevism from Marx to the first five years plan, translated by J. F. D. Morrow," 8vo ; SALTER (Herbert Edward), "Oxford essays in medieval history presented to H. E. Salter," 8vo ; SARKER (Sir Jadunath), "Fall of the Mughal Empire, 1739-1754," 8vo ; SCHLOTTENLOHER (K.), "Bibliographie zur Deutschengeschichte im Zeitalter der Glaubensspaltung, 1517-1585," 8vo ; SETON-WATSON (R. W.) "A history of the Roumanians from Roman times to the completion of unity," 8vo ; SIX (G.), "Dictionnaire biographique des généraux et amiraux français de la révolution et de l'empire : 1792-1814," tome 1 (A. J.)," 8vo ; SNOWDEN (Philip, Viscount), "An autobiography, 1864-1919," 8vo ; SURREY, "The place-names of Surrey by J. E. Gover, A Mawer, and others," 8vo ; SWITZERLAND, "Dictionnaire historique et biographique de la

Suisse," 7 vols., 8vo ; TAYLOR (E. G. R.), "Late Tudor and early Stuart Geography, 1583-1650," 8vo ; THOMPSON (E.) and GARRATT (G. T.), "Rise and fulfilment of British Rule in India," 8vo ; TOYNBEE (Arnold J.), "A study of history," 3 vols., 8vo ; TREND (J. B.), "The origins of Modern Spain," 8vo ; WALKER (W.), "Wakefield, its history and people," 8vo ; WARRAND (D), "Some Fraser Pedigrees," 8vo ; WHITTY (R. G. H.), "The court of Taunton in the 16th and 17th centuries : a study in the legal and social history of Taunton under the Tudors and Stuarts," 8vo ; WIEDER (F. C.), "Monumenta cartographica : reproductions of unique and rare maps, etc.," 5 vols., Folio ; WILCKEN (M.), "Mitteilungen aus der Würzburger Papyrussammlung," 8vo ; WILLIAMS (C.), "James I," 8vo ; WILLIAMS (W. E.), "The rise of Gladstone to the leadership of the Liberal Party, 1859-1868," 8vo.

LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE : ARBELET (P.), "Stendhal au pays des comédiennes," 8vo ; ATKINS (J. W. H.), "Literary criticism in antiquity : a sketch of its development," 2 vols., 8vo ; AUBIGNÉ (Agrippa d'), "Les tragiques, édition critique par A. Garnier et J. Plattard," 4 vols., 8vo ; BAKER (F.A.), "The history of the English novel, 5 : The novel of sentiment and the Gothic romance," 8vo ; BANNATYNE (Geo.), "The Bannatyne MS. written in tyme of pest, 1568, edited and introduced by W. S. Ritchie," 8vo ; BARKER (H.G.) and HARRISON (G. B.), "A companion to Shakespeare studies," 8vo ; BARRÈS (M.), "Les déracinées," 2 vols., 8vo ; BARRÈS (M.), "Le roman de l'énergie nationale," 3 vols., 8vo ; BAXTER (J. H.) and JOHNSON (C.), "Medieval Latin word-list under the direction of a committee of the British Academy," 8vo ; BENNETT (C. K.), "A history of the German 'Novelle' from Goethe to Thomas Mann," 8vo ; BENNETT (Joan), "Four metaphysical poets : Donne Herbert, Vaughan, Crashaw," 8vo ; BLASI (F.), "Le poesie di Guilhem de la Tor," 8vo ; BLUNDEN (E.), "Keats's publisher : some account of John Taylor," 8vo ; BOSWELL (James), "Life of Johnson together with Boswell's Journal of a Tour in the Hebrides and Johnson's Diary into North Wales, edited by G. Birkbeck Hill, revised and enlarged by L. F. Powell," 6 vols., 8vo ; BOUTERON (M.), "Muses romantiques," 8vo ; BRANSOM

(J. S. H.), "The tragedy of King Lear," 8vo ; BRIDGES (Robert), "Collected essays, 1-15," 8vo ; BRUEL (A.), "Romans français du moyen age," 8vo ; CARACCIO (A.), "Ugo Foscolo, l'homme et le poète, 1787-1827," 8vo ; CARTER (J.) and POLLARD (G.), "An enquiry into the nature of certain nineteenth century pamphlets," 8vo ; CASTRO (Americo), "El pensamiento de Cervantes," 8vo ; COLERIDGE (S. T.), "Studies by several hands on the hundredth anniversary of his death, edited by E. Blunden and E. L. Griggs," 8vo ; COLERIDGE (S. T.), "Treatise on method as published in the 'Encyclopaedia Metropolitana,' edited with introduction by A. D. Snyder," 8vo ; COLERIDGE (Mrs. S. T.), "Minnow among Tritons : Mrs. S. T. Coleridge's letters to Thomas Poole, 1799-1834, edited by S. Potter," 8vo ; CONNELLY (W.), "Sir Richard Steele," 8vo ; CONWAY (R. S.), JOHNSON (S. E.), and WHATMOUGH (J.), "The Prae-Italic dialects of Italy," 3 vols., 8vo ; DAUDE DE PARADAS, "Poésies publiées avec une introduction, une traduction, et des notes par A. H. Schutz," 8vo ; DESCHAMPS (J.), "Chateaubriand en Angleterre," 8vo ; DICKENS (Sir Henry), "Recollections," 8vo ; DUMÉRIL (E.), "Le Lied Allemand et ses traductions poétiques en France," 8vo ; DUMÉRIL (E.), "Lieds et ballades germaniques, traduits en vers français : essai de bibliographie comparée," 8vo ; DURRIÈRE (G.), "Jules Lemaitre et le théâtre," 8vo ; DURRIÈRE (G.), "Productions et variantes dramatiques inédites de Jules Lemaitre," 8vo ; DUTHIE (E. L.), "L'influence du symbolisme français dans le renouveau poétique de l'Allemagne : les Blätter für die Kunst de 1892-1900," 8vo ; ECCLES (M.), "Christopher Marlowe in London," 8vo ; ELLIS (Havelock), "George Chapman, with illustrated passages," 8vo ; ERASMUS (D.), "Opus epistolarum denuo recognitum et auctum per P. S. and H. M. Allen," 8 vols., 8vo ; EVANS (R. L.), "Les romantiques français et la musique," 8vo ; EVANS (B. Ifor), "English poetry in the later nineteenth century," 8vo ; EXETER BOOK, "The Exeter Book, poems 1-32, edited by W. S. Mackie," 8vo ; FRANCE (Anatole), "Oeuvres complètes illustrées," 24 vols., 8vo ; GALSWORTHY (John), "The collected poems," 8vo ; GIBELIN (Jean), "L'esthétique de Schelling et l'Allemagne de Madame de Staël," 8vo ; GILL (W. W.), "The Manx dialect :

words and phrases," 8vo ; GILLOT (H.), "Chateaubriand : ses idées, son action, son oeuvre," 8vo ; HAINSWORTH (G.), "Les 'Nouvelles exemplaires' de Cervantes en France au 17^e siècle : contribution à l'étude de la nouvelle en France," 8vo ; HOFFMANN (M.), "Histoire de la littérature russe depuis les origines jusqu'à nos jours," 8vo ; HOGG (Thomas Jefferson), "The letters of Hogg to Jane Williams, edited with a biographical introduction by S. Norman," 8vo ; HOLTHAUSEN (F.), "Altenglisches etymologisches Wörterbuch," 8vo ; HOOPS (R.), "Der Einfluss der Psychoanalyse auf die englische Literatur," 8vo ; HOVELAQUE (H. L.), "Browning's English in 'Sordello,'" 8vo ; HOVELAQUE (H. L.), "La jeunesse de Robert Browning," 8vo ; "IRISH BOOK LOVER : a monthly review of Irish literature and bibliography, edited by J. S. Crome, 1910 to 1925," 15 vols., 8vo ; "JACK JUGGLER : an interlude, textual reprint edited by W. W. Greg," 8vo ; "JAPANESE PLAYS : No-Kyogen-Kabuki, translated by A. L. Sadler," 8vo ; JEANROY (Alfred), "La poésie lyrique des troubadours," 2 vols., 8vo ; JOHNSON (F. R.), "A critical bibliography of the works of Edmund Spenser printed before 1700," 8vo ; JUDGE (C. B.), "Elizabethan book-pirates," 8vo ; KEATS (John), "Anatomical and physiological note-book printed from the holograph in the Keats Museum, edited by M. Buxton Forman," 8vo ; KEATS (John), "Autobiography compiled from his letters and essays by E. V. Weller," 8vo ; KING (S. M.), "Maurice Barrès : la pensée allemande et le problème du Rhin," 8vo ; KITCHEL (A. T.), "George Lewes and George Eliot : a review of records," 8vo ; KNIGHT (A. H. J.), "Some aspects of the life and work of Nietzsche, and particularly of his connection with Greek literature and thought," 8vo ; KÖRTE (A.), "Der Begriff des klassischen in der Antike," 8vo ; KORWIN-PIOTROWSKA (S. de), "Balzac en Pologne : essai de bibliographie," 8vo ; KORWIN-PIOTROWSKA (S. de), "Balzac et le monde slave : Madame Hanska et l'œuvre Balzacienne," 8vo ; KURTZ (B. P.), "The pursuit of death : a study of Shelley's poetry," 8vo ; LANDOR (W. Savage), "Last days : letters and conversations, edited by H. C. Minchin," 8vo ; LHANDÉ (P.), "Dictionnaire Basque-Français et Français-Basque, tome 1 : A-Maru," 8vo ; LINDSAY

(Jack), "Medieval Latin poets," 8vo ; LOWES (J. L.), "Geoffrey Chaucer: lectures delivered in 1932 on the W. G. Cooper Foundation in Swartmore College," 8vo ; MARSH (F. A.), "A comparative grammar of the Anglo-Saxon language," (1888), 8vo ; MARSTON (John), "Plays, edited from the earliest texts with introduction and notes by Harvey Wood," 3 vols., 8vo ; MAYSER (E.), "Grammatik der Griechischen Papyri aus der Ptolemärzeit," 2 vols, 8vo ; MEDWIN (T.), "The life of Percy Bysshe Shelley: a new edition printed from a copy copiously amended by the author and left unpublished, with an introduction by H. Buxton Forman," 8vo ; MENENDEZ PIDAL (R.), "The Cid and his Spain, translated by H. Sunderland," 8vo ; MONTHLY REVIEW, "Indexes of contributors and articles in the First Series, 1749-1789, of the 'Monthly Review' by B. C. Nangle," 8vo ; MOORE (Nina), "Bernard Shaw et la France," 8vo ; MUTSCHMANN (H.), "Further studies concerning the origin of 'Paradise lost' (the matter of the Armada)," 8vo ; NOAILLES (Comtesse de), "Derniers vers et poèmes d'enfance," 8vo ; NOYES (Alfred), "The unknown God," 8vo ; OLIVERO (F.), "Beowulf," 8vo ; OULD (H.), "John Galsworthy," 8vo ; PALMER (John), "Ben Johnson," 8vo ; PHILLIPS (E. M.), "Philarrète Chasles, critique et historien de la littérature anglaise," 8vo ; PRIEBSCH (R.) and COLLINSON (W. E.), "The German language," 8vo ; RABY (F. J. E.), "A history of secular Latin poetry in the Middle Ages," 2 vols., 8vo ; RONSARD (Pierre de), "Oeuvres complètes, édition critique . . . par P. Laumonier," 7 vols., 8vo ; ROSE (H. J.), "A hand-book of Greek literature from Homer to the age of Lucian," 8vo ; SARDOU (Victorien), "Théâtre complet (in progress)," 2 vols., 8vo ; SCHLAGDENHAUFFEN (A.), "Frédéric Schlegel et son groupe: la doctrine de l'athenæum 1798-1800," 8vo ; SCHLAGDENHAUFFEN (A.), "La langue des poètes strasbourgeois Albert et Adolphe Matthis," 8vo ; SCOTT (Sir Walter), "Letters, centenary edition, edited by H. J. C. Grierson (in progress)," 7 vols., 8vo ; SEILLIERE (E.), "Anatole France, critique de son temps," 8vo ; SELINCOURT (E. de), "Oxford lectures on poetry," 8vo ; SHELLEY (P. B.), "Verse and prose from the MSS. of P. B. Shelley, edited by Sir J. C. E. Shelley-Rolls and Roger Ingpen," 8vo ; SICILIANO (Italo), "François

Villon et les thèmes poétiques du moyen-âge," 8vo ; SPINK (J. S.), "Jean-Jacques Rousseau et Genève : essai sur les idées politiques et religieuses de Rousseau dans leur relation avec la pensée genevoise au 18^{me} siècle," 8vo ; THOMAS (J. H.), "L'Angleterre dans l'œuvre de Victor Hugo," 8vo ; TILLYARD (E. M. W.), "Poetry direct and oblique," 8vo ; TROILUS, "The story of Troilus, as told by Benoît de Sainte-Maure, G. Boccaccio, G. Chaucer, R. Henryson, translation and introduction by R. K. Gordon," 8vo ; TUSSEY (Thos.), "His good points of husbandry, 1557-1593, collated and edited by D. Hartley," 8vo ; VOLLMANN (E.), "Ursprung und Entwicklung des Monologs bis zu seiner Entfaltung bei Shakespeare," 8vo ; WHITING, (B. I.), "Chaucer's use of proverbs," 8vo ; WILMOTTE (M.), "Le poème du Gral : le Parzival de Wolfram d'Eschenbach et ses sources françaises," 8vo ; WILSON (D. A.) and MACARTHUR (D. W.), "Carlyle in old age, 1865-1881," 8vo ; WILSON (J. Dover), "The manuscript of Shakespeare's Hamlet and the problems of its transmission," 8vo ; WILSON (John), "The cheats, edited with biography by Milton O. Nahm," 8vo ; WOLFF (L.), "Dante Gabriel Rossetti," 8vo ; YATES (F. A.), "John Florio : the life of an Italian in Shakespeare's England," 8vo ; YATES (Wm. Butler), "Letters to the other Island, edited by Horace Reynolds," 8vo.

PHILOSOPHY AND RELIGION : ABEL (Russell, W.), "Charles W. Abel of Kwato : forty years in Dark Papua, by his son," 8vo ; ALLEN (P. S.), "Erasmus : lectures and way-faring sketches," 8vo ; BERNARDIN (E.), "Les idées religieuses de Madame Roland," 8vo ; BRITAIN (F.), "Latin in Church," 8vo ; BRODRICK (J.), "The economic morals of the Jesuits : an answer to Dr. H. M. Robertson," 8vo ; BRUNNER (Emil), "The Mediator : a study of the central doctrine of the Christian faith, translated by D. Wyon," 8vo ; CABROL (F.), "The mass of the Western rites," 8vo ; CALVIN (Jean), "Le catéchisme, en français moderne, suivi de la confession de foi des églises réformées de France," 8vo ; "CHESTER BEATTY BIBLICAL PAPYRI : Fasc 2 : The Gospels and Acts, edited by F. G. Kenyon (Plates), 4to ; COLLIGAN (J. H.), "The Honourable William Whittingham of Chester (?1524-1578)," 8vo ; CUTTLE

(George), "Church and State in Latin America: a history of politico-ecclesiastical relations," 8vo; DOERR (O.), "Das Institut der Inclusen in Suddeutschland," 8vo; DOMINICANS, "Analecta S. O. Fratrum Predicatorum, anno 41 (1933)," 8vo; DRIoux (G.), "Cultes indigènes des Lingons: essai sur les traditions religieuses d'une cité gallo-romaine avant le triomphe de Christianité," 8vo; DUDON (P.), "Saint Ignace de Loyola," 8vo; EISSFELDT (O.), "Einleitung in das alte Testament unter Einschluss der Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen," 8vo; ELDER (J. R.), "Marsden's lieutenants," 8vo; EULER (K. F.), "Die Verkündigung von leidenen Gottesknecht aus. Jes. 53 in der Griechischen Bibel," 8vo; EVANS (E.), "Erastianism: the Hulsean Prize Essay, 1931," 8vo; FINEGAN (Jack), "Die Ueberlieferung der Leidens und Auferstehungsgechichte Jesu," 8vo; FLEW (R. Newton), "The idea of perfection in Christian theology: an historical study of the Christian ideal for the present life," 8vo; FRAZER (Sir James G.), "The fear of the dead in primitive religion," 2 vols., 8vo; GARDNER-SMITH (P.) and FOAKES-JACKSON (J.), "The expansion of the Christian Church," 8vo; GILSON (E.), "La théologie mystique de Saint Bernard," 8vo; GREther (Oskar), "Name und Wort Gottes im Alten Testament," 8vo; "HAGGADAH, a new edition with English translation, introduction and notes by Cecil Roth, with drawings by A. Nachshen," 8vo; HEINISCH (Paul), "Das Buch Exodus, übersetzt und erklärt," 8vo; HOLLOWAY (H.), "A study of the Byzantine liturgy," 8vo; HOOFT (W. A. V. T.), "Anglo-Catholicism and orthodoxy: a Protestant view," 8vo; INGE (W. R.), "Vale," 8vo; JONAS (H.), "Gnosis und spätantiker Geist, 1: Die mythologische Gnosis," 8vo; KITTEL (H.), "Die Herrlichkeit Gottes: Studien zu Geschichte und Wesen eines N.T. Begriffs," 8vo; LAKE (Kirsopp), "Paul: his heritage and legacy," 8vo; LAMONT (W. D.), "Introduction to Greer's moral philosophy," 8vo; MACDONALD (A. B.), "Christian worship in the primitive church," 8vo; MACGREGOR (M. B.), "The sources of Scottish church history," 8vo; MACNICOL (Nicol), "The living religions of the Indian people: Wilde Lectures," 8vo; MATHEW (D. and G.), "The Reformation and the contemplative life: a study of the conflict between the Carthusians and the

State," 8vo ; MERCIER (L. J. A.), "The challenge of humanism : an essay in comparative criticism," 8vo ; "METHODIST HYMN BOOK : Subject textual and lineal indexes," 8vo ; NÖTSCHER (F.), "Das Buch Jeremias übersetzt und erklärt," 8vo ; OESTERLEY (W. O. E.), and ROBINSON (T. H.), "An introduction to the Books of the Old Testament," 8vo ; OLIVER (E.), "The eccentric life of Alexander Cruden," 8vo ; PARKES (James), "The conflict of the Church and the Synagogue : a study of the origins of anti-semitism," 8vo ; PERELS (O.), "Die Wunderüberlieferung der Synoptiker in ihrem Verhältnis zur Wortüberlieferung," 8vo ; "PERSONAL ETHICS : seven essays by well-known Oxford lecturers, edited by Kenneth E. Kirk," 8vo ; PHILLIPS (W. Alison), "History of the Church of Ireland from the earliest times to the present day," 3 vols., 8vo ; PINTO (V. de Sola), "Peter Sterry : platonist and puritan, 1613-1672 : a biographical and critical study with passages selected from his writings," 8vo ; PLATO, "Laws, translated into English with an introductory essay by A. E. Taylor," 8vo ; PLATO, "The Parmenides, translated with introduction and appendix by A. E. Taylor," 8vo ; PRADINES (M.), "Philosophie de la sensation, 2 : la sensibilité élémentaire," 8vo ; QUENTIN (Henri), "Essais de critique textuelle (ecdotique)," 8vo ; RAD (Gerhard von), "Die Priesterschrift im Hexateuch," 8vo ; RIVIERE (J.), "Le dogme de la rédemption au début du Moyen age," 8vo ; ST. JOHN OF THE CROSS, "Complete works, translated from the critical edition and edited by E. Alison Peers," vol. 1, 8vo ; SCHONFIELD (H. J.), "The lost 'Book of the Nativity of John' : a study in Messianic folk-lore and Christian origins with a new solution of the Virgin Birth problem," 8vo ; SIMPSON (W. J. Sparrow), "The contribution of Cambridge to the Anglo-Catholic revival," 8vo ; SÖDERBLOM (N.), "The nature of revelation, translated by F. E. Pamp," 8vo ; SOUTH AFRICAN CHURCH "Historical records of the Church of the Province of South Africa, by C. Lewis and G. E. Edwards," 8vo ; "SPECULUM CHRISTIANI : a middle-English religious treatise of the 14th century, edited from all the known MSS. and one old edition with introduction and notes by Gustaf Holmstedt," 8vo ; TAPIE (V. L.), "Une église tchèque au 15me siècle : l'unité des frères," 8vo ; TAYLOR (A. E.), "Philosophical studies," 8vo ; TEMPLE

(Abp. William), "Nature, man, and God : Gifford Lectures, 1932-33 and 1933-34," 8vo ; UNITED FREE CHURCH, "Reminiscences of the United Free Church General Assembly, 1900-1929, by G. M. Reith," 8vo ; UNWIN (J. D.), "Sex and culture," 8vo ; VIGNAUX (P.), "Justification et prédestination au 14e siècle : Duns Scotus, Pierre d'Auriol, Guillaume d'Occam, Grégoire de Rimini," 8vo ; WHITTAKER (Thomas), "Reason : a philosophical essay with historical illustrations : Comte, Mill, Schopenhauer, Vico, Spinoza," 8vo ; WINDISCH (Hans), "Paulus und Christus : Ein biblisch-religionsgeschichtlicher Vergleich," 8vo ; WOOD-LEIGH (K. L.), "Studies in church life in England under Edward III," 8vo.

SOCIOLOGY : ASHLEY (M. P.), "Financial and commercial policy under the Cromwellian Protectorate," 8vo ; BARNARD (H. C.), "Madame de Maintenon and Saint Cyr," 8vo ; BOOTH (Charles), "Zachary Macaulay : his part in the abolition of the slave trade and slavery : an appreciation," 8vo ; DIMOCK (M. E.), "British public utilities," 8vo ; "ENCYCLOPÆDIA OF SOCIAL SCIENCES, vols. 1-12 (A—Punishment)," 12 vols., 8vo ; HASEBROEK (John), "Trade and politics in ancient Greece, translated by L. M. Fraser and D. C. Macgregor," 8vo ; MACGREGOR (D. H.), "Enterprise, purpose and profit : essays in industry," 8vo ; MURPHY (J. T.), "Preparing for power : a critical study of the history of the British working class," 8vo ; POEL (J. van der), "Railway and customs policies in South Africa, 1885-1910," 8vo ; RUSSELL (Bertrand), "Freedom and organisation, 1814-1914," 8vo ; THOMAS (J. H.), "Town Government in the 16th century," 8vo ; WILLIAMS (Sir J. Fischer), "Some aspects of the covenant of the League of Nations," 8vo.

The following is a list of benefactors to the library during the six months that have elapsed since the publication of our last issue ; to each of whom we renew our grateful thanks for their welcome gifts :

GIFTS
TO THE
LIBRARY.

(The figures in brackets indicate the number of volumes included in the gifts.)

J. M. Ashton, Esq. [20]

Dr. W. Bonser [1]

Dr. W. Bang [1]

W. Perkins Bull, Esq. [1]

Professor H. Hale Bellot [21]

His Majesty King Fuad [8]

- | | |
|-------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------|
| Frank B. Gay, Esq. [1] | A. Van de Put, Esq. [1] |
| Dr. E. Bosdin Leach [1] | A. L. Reade, Esq. [1] |
| The Librarian [4] | T. G. Scott, Esq. [1] |
| Cecil Andrew Lugard, Esq. [1] | G. Spiller, Esq. [1] |
| Mrs. Leo Mielziner [1] | Dr. M. Tyson [1] |
| Captain and Mrs. McGrigor
Phillips [1] | The Reverend W. A. Westleys [1]
Mrs. Willard [2] |
| The Reverend Father Placid [1] | Dr. Harold R. Willoughby [1] |
| William Poel, Esq. [1] | Miss Wittaker [1] |

Aberdeen : The University [1].

Aberystwyth : The National Library of Wales [1].

Barcelona : Biblioteca de Catalunya [4].

Basle : The University [7].

Berlin : Staatsbibliothek [1].

Birmingham : The University [30]

British Museum [1]

Buckfast Abbey, South Devon [1].

Canada : The High Commissioner [1].

Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, New York [3].

Carnegie United Kingdom Trust [1].

Chicago : The University [1].

Connecticut : Tercentenary Commission of the State [10].

Copenhagen : The University [19].

Edinburgh : The University [1].

Erfurter Genealogischer Abend [1].

Glasgow : The Mitchell Library [1]

Glasgow : The University [3].

Harvard University [1]

Hispanic Society of America [3].

Hull : University College [1].

Henry E. Huntington Library [1]

India : The High Commissioner [15].

Latvia : The University [5].

Leeds : The University [1].

Lisbon : Academia das Ciencias [3].

London : The French Embassy [2].

London : School of Economics and Political Science [1].

Louisiana State University [5].

- Louvain : L'Université Catholique [5].
Lund : The University [1].
Manchester : The University [6].
Massachusetts : Historical Society [1]
Michigan : The University [8].
National Union of Teachers [1].
New York : The Pierpont Morgan Library [1].
New York : The University [1].
Nottingham : University College [1].
Peiping : The National Library [104].
Philatelic Conference of Great Britain [1].
Pilgrim Trust [1].
Reading : The University [1].
Regnal League, London [1].
Saint Andrews : The University [2].
Saragossa : The University [1].
Sheffield : The University [1].
Smith College, Mass. [2].
Standing Council of the Baronetage [1].
Stanford University [15].
Swansea : University College [1].
Toronto : The University [1].
Upsala : The University [1].
Vienna : Nationalsbibliothek [3].
Washington : The Library of Congress [1].
Dr. Williams's Trust [1].

FALSTAFF.¹

By H. B. CHARLTON, M.A.

PROFESSOR OF ENGLISH LITERATURE IN THE UNIVERSITY OF MANCHESTER.

FALSTAFF, you will agree, is a huge subject, a very tun of man: "that trunk of humours, that bolting hutch of beastliness, that swollen parcel of dropsies, that huge bombard of sack, that stuffed cloak-bag of guts, that roasted Manningtree ox with the pudding in his belly, that reverend vice, that grey iniquity, that father ruffian, that vanity in years."² God gave him abundantly of the spirit of persuasion, and the words he spoke have moved a multitude of men to make books about him. Perhaps he still retains the receipt of fern-seed, and walks invisible. But the shelves of our libraries are almost as heavy with the Knight as was Mistress Ford's buck-basket. The main task, of course, is to rate his quality within the genus homo which is the common name to all men, to judge how little better than the wicked he may be, to assess precisely what is the virtue in that Falstaff. But there are questions besides these primary points of criticism: there seems to be no remedy against the consumption of print for recording reams of fact and conjecture directly or remotely bearing on the Falstaff saga. Many have sought his ancestors, thinking to lay hold of him there before he had become himself in Shakespeare's imagination. There are those who would find him in the flesh in Elizabethan England—a swashbuckling Captain Nicholas Dawtrey has fairly recently been named for the live Falstaff.³ Others, starting more directly with a textual problem, are concerned with the name under which Falstaff first came into Shakespeare's plays,

¹ An elaboration of the lecture delivered in the John Rylands Library on the 14th of November, 1934.

² *I Henry IV*, 2, 4, 495 ff.

³ *The Falstaff Saga*, by J. Dawtrey, 1927.

Sir John Oldcastle, and with the constraint put on Shakespeare to rechristen him, lest the Elizabethan descendants of the real Oldcastle should resent the tarnishing of their scutcheon. That they did resent it is certain, since in the prologue to another contemporary play, a play with little apparent purpose but to exalt the virtues of Sir John Oldcastle, it is expressly intimated that the hero of it is

“no pampered glutton, . . .
Nor aged Councillor to youthfull sinne,
But one, whose vertue shone above the rest,
A valiant Martyr and a vertuous peere,”¹

and a protest is recorded against the manner in which “forg’d invention former time defac’ted.” Shakespeare himself admitted his unwitting guilt. “Oldcastle died a martyr, and this [i.e. Falstaff] is not the man.”²

The dramatist had merely taken over the name Oldcastle amongst the material from the old play of *The Famous Victories of Henry the Fifth* (c. 1588) which he was using for his own Prince Hal plays. But critics agree that there is very little of Falstaff in the Sir John Oldcastle of *The Famous Victories*: he is a minor comic figure amongst the dissolutes whom the reformed prince dismisses from his company. But some curious enquirers into Falstaff’s theatrical genealogy find him descended queerly from both the Sir John and from the clown Derrick of this older play.³ More elaborately, others see him as curiously compounded of the varying figure which a dramatised Oldcastle would cut in popular estimation before, and then after, the Reformation.⁴ Further, he has been identified as nothing but the lineal descendant of the vice in the mediæval moralities,⁵ whilst an even remoter theatrical origin has been claimed for him in the *miles gloriosus* of Roman comedy.⁶

¹ *Sir John Oldcastle* (1600), Prologue.

² *II Henry IV.* Epilogue.

³ Monaghan, J., “Falstaff and his Forbears” in *Studies in Philology* (University of N. Carolina, xviii, 1921).

⁴ Baeske, W., *Oldcastle-Falstaff in der englischen Literatur bis zu Shakespeare* (Palæstra 50, 1905).

⁵ Spargo, J. W., *An Interpretation of Falstaff* (Washington University Studies, 1922).

⁶ Stoll, E. E., “Falstaff” in *Modern Philology*, Oct. 1914.

But in much of this, pregnancy is made a tapster and hath his quick wit wasted in giving reckonings ; and for the present purpose we can permit ourselves to be troubled with the disease of not listening and the malady of not marking. Our argument is solely with true Jack Falstaff, old Jack Falstaff, Shakespeare's Jack Falstaff ; with his forbears, or indeed with his own pre-play proclivities, when he was not an eagle's talon in the waist and could have crept into any alderman's thumb-ring, we have no concern whatever. Yet not all his genealogists have had a limitedly historic object. Behind many of their attempts to trace his family tree, there is a hope that a knowledge of his ancestry may help to interpret the character of the man himself, and that in this way, light may be thrown on what Shakespeare deliberately or intuitively meant him to be. In particular, most of these critics seek to help criticism to extricate itself from a dilemma in which all who are attached both to Shakespeare and to Falstaff find themselves involved, a dilemma which reaches its climax in Henry V's callous rejection of the old man who has been his intimate confederate in an incessant round of escapades—

“ the nimble-footed madcap Prince of Wales
And his comrades, that daff'd the world aside,
And bid it pass.”¹

It is a scene which has aroused more repugnance than any other in Shakespeare. Henry IV is dead, and Hal succeeds to the Crown. In earlier days there had been much merry talk between Falstaff and Hal, anticipating their gay doings “ when thou, sweet wag, art king.” Falstaff is at Mr. Justice Shallow's in Gloucestershire when Pistol brings news of Henry IV's death. Falstaff sees all his dreams come true. “ Away, Bardolph ! saddle my horse. Master Robert Shallow, choose what office thou wilt in the land, 'tis thine. Pistol, I will double-charge thee with dignities.” “ I know the young king is sick for me. Let us take any man's horses ; the laws of England are at my commandment.”² He comes to London, and without waiting to deck himself for court, puts himself in Hal's way, “ to stand stained with travel, and sweating with desire to see him ; thinking

¹ *I Henry IV*, 5. 1. 95 ff.

² *II Henry IV*, 5. 3. 127 ff.

of nothing else, putting all affairs else in oblivion, as if there were nothing else to be done but to see him.”¹ The king and his train enter, to be greeted rapturously by Falstaff. “God save thy grace, King Hal! my royal Hal! . . . God save thee, my sweet boy.” But the king does not even speak to him; he commands the Lord Chief Justice, Falstaff’s old enemy, to convey the royal message—“My lord chief-justice, speak to that vain man.” Falstaff is completely nonplussed. “*My king! my Jove! I speak to thee, my heart.*” Then he hears from Hal’s own lips:

“I know thee not, old man: fall to thy prayers;
How ill white hairs become a fool and jester!
I have long dream’d of such a kind of man,
So surfeit-swell’d, so old and so profane;
But, being awaked, I do despise my dream.”

He hears himself banished in moral strains he has only once heard spoken by that voice before—and then it had been in open fooling:

“When thou dost hear I am as I have been,
Approach me, and thou shalt be as thou wast,
The tutor and the feeder of my riots:
Till then, I banish thee, on pain of death,
As I have done the rest of my misleaders,
Not to come near our person by ten mile.”

There is a faint speck of material consolation:

“For competence of life I will allow you,
That lack of means enforce you not to evil:
And as we hear you do reform yourselves,
We will, according to your strengths and qualities,
Give you advancement.”

But even this appears in the immediate sequel as a further stroke of callous cruelty. For, at once, the Lord Chief Justice returns and orders his officers to carry Sir John to the Fleet prison. If anything further be needed to make this treatment odious, it is Lancaster’s approval of it—“I like this fair proceeding of the King’s!” for Lancaster has just previously performed a most opprobrious act of treachery, or rather of Bolingbrokian

¹ *II Henry IV*, 5. 5. 25 ff.

political strategy : he has deluded the rebels into accepting seemingly honourable terms, to find themselves haled off to execution. It appears indeed as if the family morals are in the blood of all of them, Henry IV, Henry V and Lancaster. Falstaff knew them for what they were. When Lancaster jibes at his capture of Colevile—"It was more of his courtesy than your deserving," Falstaff has the right rebuke ready. "I know not : here he is, and here I yield him : and I beseech your grace, let it be booked with the rest of this day's deeds ; or, by the Lord, I will have it in a particular ballad else, with mine own picture on the top on't, Colevile kissing my foot : to the which course, if I be enforced, if you do not all show like gilt two-pences to me, and I in the clear sky of fame o'ershine you as much as the full moon doth the cinders of the element, which show like pin's heads to her, believe not the word of the noble : therefore let me have right, and let desert mount."¹

Yet he had thought that Hal was different from his family, as indeed Hal had so far been different. "Good faith, this same young sober-blooded boy [Lancaster] doth not love me ; nor a man cannot make him laugh ; but that's no marvel, he drinks no wine. . . . Hereof comes it that Prince Harry is valiant ; for the cold blood he did naturally inherit of his father, he hath, like lean, sterile and bare land, manured, husbanded and tilled with excellent endeavour of drinking good and good store of fertile sherris that he is become very hot and valiant."²

With hardly a dissentient voice, the later world has scorned Hal for his offence against humanity. Mr. Masfield lets it colour all Henry V's subsequent deeds, and writes him down for a heartless schemer. "Prince Henry is not a hero, he is not a thinker, he is not even a friend ; he is a common man whose incapacity for feeling enables him to change his habits whenever interest bids him. Throughout the first acts he is careless and callous though he is breaking his father's heart and endangering his father's throne. He chooses to live in society as common as himself. He talks continually of guts as though a belly were a kind of wit. Even in the society of his choice his attitude is remote and cold-blooded. There is no good fellowship in him,

¹ *II Henry IV*, 4. 3. 47 ff.

² *Ibid.*, 4. 3. 93 ff.

no sincerity, no wholeheartedness. He makes a mock of the drawer who gives him his whole little pennyworth of sugar. His jokes upon Falstaff are so little good-natured that he stands upon his princehood whenever the old man would retort upon him. He impresses one as quite common, quite selfish, quite without feeling. When he learns that his behaviour may have lost him his prospective crown he passes a sponge over his past, and fights like a wild cat for the right of not having to work for a living." ¹

There is scarcely a reader who will not sympathise with Mr. Masfield's attitude, though perhaps few would press the case so far. It is indeed hardly thinkable that Shakespeare expected us to feel so bitterly against Prince Hal. Yet it is equally unthinkable that our feelings towards him can remain sympathetically genial.

Doubtless, Shakespeare's problem is inherent in his story. Legend and history affirmed that after a riotous youth, Prince Hal reformed himself into the noble Henry V. The old play of *The Famous Victories* chooses that as its main theme. It opens with the Prince and his associates, Ned and Tom, and, after a second's delay, Sir John Oldcastle also, rejoicing in the proceeds of a highway robbery by which they have relieved the King's Receivers of a thousand pounds. Hal invites them to adjourn to "the olde taverne in Eastcheape; there is good wine, and besides there is a pretie wench that can talke well." ² Later, we hear how they enjoyed themselves. "This night, about two houres ago, there came the young Prince, and three or foure more of his companions, and called for wine good store; and then they sent for a noyse of musitians, and were very merry for the space of an houre; then, whether their musicke liked them not, or whether they had drunke too much wine or no, I cannot tell, but our pots flue against the wals; and then they drew their swordes and went into the streete and fought, and some tooke one part and some tooke another; but for the space of halfe an houre there was such a bloodie fray as passeth." ³ They are arrested and carried to the Counter prison. The King hears of

¹ Masfield, *Shakespeare*, p. 112 (Home University Library).

² *The Famous Victories*, l. 118 ff.

³ *Ibid.*, ll. 261 ff.

his son's arrest, and forgives the officers for it, though he makes them put in a full plea in extenuation of their audacity—"Although he be a rude youth, and likely to give occasion, yet you might have considered that he is a prince, and my sonne, and not to be halled to prison by every subject."¹ He has the roysterers released, after uttering a brief lament over his son: "thrice-accursed Harry, that hath gotten a sonne which with greefe will end his fathers dayes."² In a short time, the Prince is bullying a judge who will not acquit one of the Prince's men; he ends by giving him the famous box on the ear, for which the judge has him haled off to the Fleet prison. Soon, however, he is out again, frolicking with his rowdy companions, and vowing what gay times they will have when he is king. He hears that his father "lies verie sicke," and sets off at once for the court, gleefully declaring that "the breath shal be no sooner out of his [father's] mouth but I wil clap the crowne on my head."³ Going out, he alludes for the first time in the play, to the reformation expected of his character, but does not for a moment countenance the notion; indeed, he roundly scoffs at it. "But thers som wil say the yong Prince will be 'a well toward yong man'—and all this geare, that I had as leewe they would breake my head with a pot as to say any such thing."⁴ At court, the sick King is lamenting his son's dissoluteness. "Oh my sonne! my sonne! no sooner out of one prison but into another? I had thought once-whiles I had lived to have seene this noble realme of England flourish by thee, my sonne; but now I see it goes to ruine and decaie."⁵ The reprobate prince enters his father's house, noisily, blusteringly, wearing a sort of motley and brandishing a dagger. Weeping, his father upbraids him for his deeds and for following this "wilde and reprobate company." In a flash, the prince repents: "my conscience accuseth me."⁶ "And those vilde and reprobate companions, I abandon and utterly abolish their company for ever! Pardon, sweete father! pardon!" When he is afraid that his father will not at once forgive him, he says, "I will go take me into some solitarie place, and there lament my sinfull life; and when

¹ *The Famous Victories*, ll. 315 ff.² *Ibid.*, ll. 364 ff.³ *Ibid.*, ll. 663 ff.⁴ *Ibid.*, ll. 678 ff.⁵ *Ibid.*, ll. 713 ff.⁶ *Ibid.*, ll. 764 ff.

I have done, I will laie me downe and die.”¹ His penitence is absolute, complete, and permanent. Approaching his sleeping father, and thinking him dead, he reverently carries away the crown, saying that he will weep day and night to atone for his former negligence. The King, however, is not really dead. Missing the crown, he suspects the prince, but is at once reassured of the latter’s motives, and determines to crown him forthwith. Doing so, he dies. On the prince’s succession, his old friends rush into his presence to secure the anticipated prizes. But it is now a new Henry. “Oh, how it did me good to see the King when he was crowned,” says Oldcastle; “Methought his seate was like the figure of heaven, and his person like unto a god.”² But another of the gang suspects another sort of change; “who would have thought that the King would have changde his countenance so?” They soon know how different things now are—and forthwith are turned off. “I prethee, Ned, mend thy maners, and be more modester in thy tearmes. . . . Thou saist I am changed; so I am indeed. . . . Your former life greeves me, and makes me to abandon and abolish your company for ever. And therefore; not upon pain of death to approach my presence by ten miles space. Then, if I heare wel of you, it may be I wil do somewhat for you; otherwise looke for no more favour at my hands then at any other mans.”³

Such is the stuff of *The Famous Victories* where it is nearest to Shakespeare’s material. But it will be seen that its anonymous author has not caught himself in Shakespeare’s difficulties. He has simply taken successive episodes from the familiar tale and staged them. At its face value, the story was sufficiently amusing; he saw no need, and perhaps had no art, really to dramatise it. Hal’s sudden and complete change of character would be accepted as a sort of Pauline conversion attested by history. There was no need to prepare for it; indeed, he could make Hal himself laugh at the mere thought of its possibility. Credible through legend, there was no obvious obligation to make it convincing by characterisation. But that was not Shakespeare’s way. With him, the deed was always a trial of

¹ *The Famous Victories*, ll. 796 ff.

² *Ibid.*, ll. 989 ff.

³ *Ibid.*, ll. 1018 ff.

the man. Stage figures, driven hither and thither at the command of the plot, were almost as contemptible in his eyes as was a brewer's horse to Falstaff, a mere thing which at a tug of the rein suffers itself to pull away from the delectable and substantial stuff behind it and therefore always behind it. Shakespeare's characters are incessantly striving to break into life. Dramatically this lends a larger dare to his great enterprise. But it has its greater hazards. Hal's conversion must be grounded in character. To make it credible and consonant with Henry V, it must follow a deliberate motive or an unconscious but convincing prompting from the stuff of his nature. Hence the cumulative priggishness of the young roysterer. His attempts to salve in words the long-grown wounds of his intemperance, his plea that he is only upholding the unyoked humour of his idle confederates for a while, his admission that he is deliberately experimenting, toying with a political practice to falsify men's hopes, and, by reformation, ultimately to show more goodly—all this is an offence against humanity, and an offence which dramatically never becomes a skill. The noble change which he has so elaborately purposed is an unconscionable trick. Every time he invites us to weigh his follies with the purpose, he displays a revolting alacrity in sinking from our esteem. His grace is clearly saying that against which our flesh rebels. Retrospectively, even his follies lose something of their savour. To secure a charge of foot for Falstaff, for whom, afoot, "eight yards of uneven ground is three score and ten miles,"¹ is a rollicking but a heartless joke, without the zest which was in the hiding of his horse when the job in hand was the highway robbery. It is easy for Hal on a plea that he is of all the humours that have showed themselves humours since the old days of goodman Adam, to demonstrate in act that the drawer is a fellow of fewer words than a parrot. But when triumph is so easily secured, onlookers may remember that the victim is yet the son of a woman, and that, as "his industry is upstairs and down-stairs,"² Hal is heartlessly endangering the poor drawer's means of subsistence. One prefers to cling to the figure which Vernon saw, the prince who acted with a restrained dignity

¹ *I Henry IV*, 2. 2. 26 ff.

² *Ibid.*, 2. 4. 112.

“ which became him like a prince indeed ;
 He made a blushing cital of himself ;
 And chid his truant youth with such a grace
 As if he master'd there a double spirit
 Of teaching and of learning instantly.
 There did he pause : but let me tell the world,
 If he outlive the envy of this day,
 England did never owe so sweet a hope.” ¹

Or even more pleasantly, one chooses to recall his spontaneous offer to lie his hardest for Falstaff's sake :

“ For my part, if a lie may do thee grace,
 I'll gild it with the happiest terms I have.” ²

Perhaps it would have been better if Shakespeare had stinted preparation, letting the conversion come through the stress of present circumstance, almost indeed as it does come, when, in his new dignity as King, he swears to the Lord Chief Justice that the memory of the suffering he has caused his father shall instigate his own regeneration :

“ My father is gone wild into his grave,
 For in his tomb lie my affections ;
 . . . The tide of blood in me
 Hath proudly flow'd in vanity till now :
 Now doth it turn and ebb back to the sea,
 Where it shall mingle with the state of floods
 And flow henceforth in formal majesty.” ³

But, on his own plea, it is the end which tries the man. The end is his rejection of Falstaff. And after that, even the wicked will not readily fall in love with him. It seems a safe guess that such a Hal, so false to Falstaff, will of that seed grow to a greater falseness. If indeed, a greater falseness is within the scope of conjecture.

For Shakespeare's art could not use the semblance of flesh without vitalising it into life. Hal's reprobates would in their turn come nearer to humanity than is a shotten-herring or a stage-puppet. These rascals cannot be swept away to suit the plot, and one of them in particular, though he would be a fool and a coward but for inflammation, has pledged himself so deeply into our affections, that his fate angers us to the heart.

¹ *I Henry IV*, 5. 2. 61 ff.

² *Ibid.*, 5. 4. 161 ff.

³ *II Henry IV*, 5. 2. 123 ff.

There appears to be no escape from the fact. This huge mass of flesh, this Sir John, has distorted the drift of the historic story and of the deliberate plan of Shakespeare's play. He has converted an intended hero into a heartless politician, and a happy ending into a revolting conclusion. How is such a critical predicament to be avoided?

The most specious way is Stoll's.¹ He denies that there is a real predicament. We only think there is because we are merely amateur, not 'professional,' critics. We are ignorant of technique and of historic development; and, feeling the dilemma, we betray a total misapprehension of dramatic method. Falstaff is a comic character, and nothing more: as good playgoers, we should imitate the Elizabethans and ask no more. Everything that Falstaff does or says is part of the type which Shakespeare is undertaking to exhibit (and presumably has so informed Mr. Stoll directly). It is all so simple, got with much ease. And Mr. Stoll seems impregnable in his panoply of illustrative foot-notes from plays of every age and every nation.

But, one feels prompted to ask, did Shakespeare only write for professional critics? And for those of his day, or those of ours? Is Falstaff a figure for the Elizabethans only, and for those rare people of our own day who have persuaded themselves that they are seeing him historically? And though admittedly the play's the thing, is it a critical sin, when one has seen it and been moved by it, to let the mind dwell on what has been seen? Moreover, even if one can be so certain of what the limits of a dramatic type are, are they so sacrosanct that the characterisation of one of them is merely the adoption of a tradition? Is a dramatist only a stage-carpenter, knocking a play together according to a convention, or is he a creative artist with his own apprehensions of life, and, so far as his material permits, with his own distinctive technique? And why indeed does Falstaff still abide with us of these later times? Why, moreover, do we, taking Shakespeare as him to whom we owe our own deepest flashes of insight into human nature, why do we, here and now, protest that he has been untrue to posterity's sense of mortal values? Even to say that Falstaff is a 'comic'

¹ *Vide supra*, p. 47, n. 6.

character is to state a problem, not to give an answer. Wherein comic, and why one of the greatest of comic characters?

Other exponents of Falstaff, whilst not denying that his rejection is a real and legitimate problem for us, have sought to show that there could be no problem in him for Shakespeare's contemporaries. There is little harm, and little profit, in such demonstrations. It is certain that Mr. Spargo's attempt¹ to explain Falstaff as a survival of the mediæval Vice whose rôle it was to be merry and in the end to be punished, involves a wild conjecture about Elizabethan audiences, and has no bearing whatever on the difficulties of a modern one. Mr. Tolman's² is at least a more coherent and feasible proposal. Falstaff was created to make the reformed Hal an intelligible and dramatically satisfying figure. He fascinates Hal into evil and us into good humour. He is attractive enough to palliate Hal's roysterings and sufficiently repellant to justify the later Hal's break with him. There is nothing impossible in supposing this to have been Shakespeare's intention. But Mr. Tolman admits that if such was his intention, it went awry. Falstaff outgrew that function.

This brings us to Mr. A. C. Bradley,³ though, except for the partial agreement in Mr. Tolman's notion that Falstaff's greatness over-reached his author, the writers here named, writing after Bradley, are mainly against him, and some of them, Stoll in particular, entirely and rabidly against him. In his *Rejection of Falstaff*, Mr. Bradley was developing and greatly enriching an apology for Falstaff put forward as long ago as 1777 by Maurice Morgann,⁴ and Mr. Bradley's portrait of Sir John impresses one as more like the authentic Falstaff of Shakespeare than any other which the critics have sketched.

Morgann loved Falstaff. He recognised, however, that if Falstaff's character were to be judged by normal moral standards,

¹ *Vide supra*, p. 47, n. 5.

² Tolman, A. H., *Falstaff and other Shakespearian Topics*, 1925 (the Falstaff paper had appeared in *P.M.L.A. of A.*, 1919).

³ Bradley, A. C., *Oxford Lectures on Poetry*, "The Rejection of Falstaff," 1909.

⁴ Morgann, Maurice, *An Essay on the Dramatic Character of Sir John Falstaff*, 1777.

it would seem hard to find anything worthy of commendation in the man. Yet Morgann loved him. To account for this, he develops a theory that we really estimate the quality of a man, and especially the quality of a man in a play, by two distinct faculties of judgment, by our 'impression,' and by our 'understanding,' faculties more or less corresponding to 'intuitive sympathy' and 'pure reason.' Pure reason, he finds, is frequently in error; it judges on but partially apprehended evidence, for much that is essential to the full assessment can only be perceived by intuitive sympathy. From this, he goes on to argue that Falstaff's seeming delinquencies, cowardice, lying, and so forth, are only apparent, and are, in a way, the instruments where-with Falstaff shows himself to be possessed of the very virtues which are the direct counterparts of the vices he seems to have. It may be that in his zeal to make a case, Morgann is at times arbitrary in his choice and in his use of this or that detail. But the fundamental basis of his argument is not to be destroyed merely by labelling it 'romantic,' as does Mr. Stoll; it seems indeed to rest on a plain human and æsthetic truth.

Mr. Bradley is in general agreement with Morgann. He gives to Morgann's main proposition a more acute and subtle statement, and strengthens it by developing its bearing on a comprehensive philosophy of art and of life. There is no need to summarise Mr. Bradley's paper. Like the other writings of this, the greatest Shakespearian critic of our time, it is a thing which all who would come nearer to Shakespeare must read for themselves. Its supreme value is its psychological portraiture of Falstaff himself. Here, if anywhere out of Shakespeare, is Shakespeare's Sir John.

But Mr. Bradley was using the portrait of Falstaff for his own specific purpose. Subscription to its authenticity will not preclude our demurring to some of Mr. Bradley's implications when Falstaff is being reviewed from the different angle required by our particular problem.

With diffidence, and with apology, therefore, I remind you that this is the sixth successive year in which I have been honoured by an invitation to talk here on Shakespearian comedy. And, risking being silenced for damnable iteration, I venture to recall

to you what has been for me, though perhaps too obscurely and diffusely for you to have noted it, the persisting and unifying intention throughout my earlier Rylands lectures. My endeavour has been to follow the growth of Shakespeare's idea of comedy.

To talk of an idea of comedy, and to talk about it as one must for such exposition as is now being attempted, may seem to imply a clear consciousness of such things in the mind of the dramatist. But that, it must be insisted, is very wide of the mark. A dramatist's creative power is essentially different from, and largely independent of, his pure reason. The life he imaginatively apprehends may remain, and indeed most frequently does remain, entirely unanalysed and unsystematised by his reason. But when the life he creates by his art displays the completeness of an organic unity, the principles implied in it or presupposed by it may be enquired into, and formulated, though but imperfectly. The formulation of them will be in terms which, more often than not, would appear to the dramatist himself as more or less unintelligible irrelevancies. Shakespeare, it is certain, had no theory of comedy. But his genius created a 'comic' world. To trace the evolution of his idea of comedy is to follow the stages by which his presentation of the 'comic' grew into the creation of a universe which was complete in itself and was held together by its capacity to convince the imagination of man that the fundamental laws of it correspond to man's sense of what he himself is and what, in its essence, is the world in which he lives.

Put so, the search for Shakespeare's idea of comedy has a forbiddingly abstruse appearance. But, however reconditely or left-handedly urged its formulated conclusions may appear, it may well be that in effect they are founded on a very simple proposition about the nature of comedy. A comedy is a play which ends happily. Granted that the author may not arbitrarily interfere with the progress of his protagonist towards his happy ending, then clearly he must find a hero of such sort that, being what he is, he is likely to overcome whatever impediments to his well-being may be presented by the episodes of the play; and these episodes, so the assumption equally requires, must not be

devised by the author merely to fit his particular situation ; they must be representative of the obstacles which, in experience at large, are presented to man in the dilemmas inherent in more or less normal encounters with the world as the world is. Such a simplified statement is obviously a begging of many questions. What, for instance, is meant by the hero's well-being ? Is it his welfare and success in the world as the world seems to be, or is it the state of his immortal soul ? Is it his worth as judged at the bar of eternity, or is it his aptitude to meet the thousand and one recurrent rubs which arise through the mere act of living ? But the range of comedy suggests the answer. Comedy is concerned with life as a thing to be lived. It has no direct cognisance of thoughts which wander through eternity. It is exclusively concerned with the problems of mortality. Conjectures of immortality are values beyond its competence to assess. "What time of day is it, lad ?" That is the immediate concern of comedy. Unless hours were cups of sack, and minutes, capons, or other things no less necessary to the continued existence of man in the world in which he lives, comedy would indeed be superfluous. If time were but a moment of eternity, there would be no more reason to ask for comedy than to demand the time of the day. For tragedy, time is the eternal now ; for comedy, it is the condition of present existence. Comedy is immersed in time, in the here and now. Its heroes, to overcome, to end happily and to go on ending happily without end, must be endowed with the temperament and the arts to triumph over the stresses of circumstance. They are not concerned with what man and life might have been. They take it as it is, and seek a way to turn it to their purpose. For them, the world is an oyster. Their primary object is to attain a mastery of circumstance. Endowed with a genius for that, they will go on ending happily as far as this world is concerned, whatever hap they may have in Arthur's bosom.

In our survey of Shakespeare's earlier comedies, we have watched his widening grasp of this situation, followed the stages by which he sought intuitively to embody in his comic heroes more and more of this capacity for conquering the world. In last year's play, *The Merchant of Venice*, there was little progress

to report. His natural development as a comic dramatist was interrupted by the strength of his unartistic passion to express his racial prejudices. But even in *The Merchant of Venice*, with its depiction of the temperamental opulence and the easy *savoir-faire* of his young Venetian sparks, there is evidence of his growing sense of the *milieu* of comedy. It is, however, to *A Midsummer Night's Dream* that a return must be made for gauging the progress which Shakespeare's comic genius had attained in his creation of Falstaff.

It was there, and in particular, in the speech of Theseus about lunatics, lovers, and poets towards the end of the play, that an expression of the prevailing idea of comedy was to be found. It was, in effect, an explicit recognition that man depends, not merely for his success in life, but for his survival through life, on his possession of so much 'cool reason' that he may secure for himself immunity from the mortal diseases which, arising from his emotional and imaginative faculties, may render him unable to distinguish between bushes and bears.

That is the 'comic,' the worldly wisdom, of Theseus. But it was the conscious and deliberate conclusion of Theseus himself, and of Shakespeare. It was a comment on the action of the play. It was not an inevitable conviction coming out of the issues presented by the play. And, indeed, stated explicitly as Theseus stated it, it did not completely square with the action of the play itself. Theseus, for instance, bases his case on a temperamental disbelief in antique fables and fairy toys. But his audience had had actual experience of the reality of Oberon and Titania, and seen with its own eyes the effects of a Puckishly administered magic distillation. His plea for the supreme value of 'cool reason' depends entirely on the judgment of our cool reason, and is hardly at all corroborated by an imaginative experience of the operation in life of this same faculty. He rationalises 'cool reason' almost entirely; and is blind to our actual recognition through the play that an intuitive sense, a horse-sense such as Bottom's, may prompt man to similar modes of facing life, and so serve the same end.

But it could hardly be otherwise in a play in which the propounder of its basic attitude to life is no more than a spectator

of the action it depicts. Theseus merely watches over the plot of *A Midsummer Night's Dream*. He is not caught up into it. Right or wrong as his doctrine may be, it stands or falls in his case without such relevant evidence as might have come from the imaginative experience of seeing it tried out in the image of life which the play presents.

One waits therefore, for a play in which the Theseus-attitude is a prime actor in the situations which make the dramatic plot. That, it would seem, is what Falstaff provides. This joining of Falstaff with Theseus may seem forced ; and, of course, if they are considered independently as men and as dramatic characters, it may be that memory will catch at few or no traits to sustain the comparison. But Falstaff is indeed a fuller embodiment of the mentality of Theseus : in mind Theseus, and in spirit, Faulconbridge are Falstaff's forbears. As with Theseus, his life is governed by the faculty of 'cool reason' in the sense that his valuation of all experience is a wider application of the findings of Theseus's 'cool reason.' It may, of course, well be that in this widening and in this necessarily more extended exploitation, 'cool reason' itself will undergo some change. Probably the common sense, which virtually is Theseus's 'cool reason,' will veer markedly towards a harder material rationalism, the materialism of Faulconbridge ; it will disclose implications unsuspected, because not called for, in the simpler proposition of it which was all that his circumstance required Theseus to formulate.

What, then is the 'humour,' the ruling passion, the distinctive quiddity of Sir John Falstaff ? Fundamentally, it is his infinite capacity for extricating himself from predicaments. Circumstance hems him in at the corner of a room, and, as his opponents stretch out their hands to lay hold of him, this huge mountain of flesh slips through the key-hole. So adept is he in this art of extrication that he revels in creating dilemmas for himself to enjoy the zest of coming triumphantly out of them. He is insatiably curious to provide situations which test or even strain his genius for overcoming them. Mastery of circumstance is his pride : it is also his supreme qualification to be a hero of comedy.

These are traits which supply the mainspring of the plot.

Falstaff has an unslakeable thirst for life. "Give me life,"¹—he cries—and the cry is in soliloquy, no fetch therefore to delude listeners. Life is his *summum bonum*. "Young men must live"²—and he identifies himself with youth—"You that are old consider not the capacities of us that are young."³ Life is most intoxicating when a jest is forward and spirits are high. Life is indeed itself the greatest of frolics. A fellow whom under no circumstances you can make laugh, knows nothing of life: thin drink has so cooled his blood, and the making of many fish-meals and vegetarian dishes, that he has sunk into a kind of incapacitating green-sickness. High spirits or a good sherris-sack ascends to the brain and "dries me there all the foolish and dull and crude vapours which environ it; makes it apprehensive, quick, forgetive, full of nimble fiery and delectable shapes; which, deliver'd o'er to the voice, the tongue, which is the birth, becomes excellent wit."⁴ These, and not merely existing like a weaver singing his psalms, are the conditions which to Falstaff make for life. "He that will caper with me for a thousand marks, let him lend me the money and have at him!"⁵ For psalms are a *memento mori*, and Falstaff has no occasion for such things, unless like Bardolph's Death's-Head, he can make good use of them and so spare the cost of links and torches on his exploits as squire of the night's body. Grief, study, and such like perturbations of the brain are diseases to be avoided, an apoplexy, a kind of lethargy, a sleeping in the blood. From time to time, he talks of withdrawing from the heat of life; but that is only because there are few left to revel it at his pace; "virtue is of so little regard in these costermonger times that true valour is turned bear-herd."⁶ "Go thy ways, old Jack; die when thou wilt, if manhood, good manhood, be not forgot upon the face of the earth, then am I a shotten herring: there live not three good men unhanged in England, and one of them is fat and grows old: God help the while! a bad world, I say."⁷ But these are moods with which Falstaff amuses himself in the lack of more zestful matter. The remedy is still more life,

¹ *I Henry IV*, 5. 3. 63.

² *Ibid.*, 2. 2. 96.

³ *II Henry IV*, 1. 2. 196 ff.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 4. 3. 105 ff.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 1. 2. 216.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 1. 2. 190 ff.

⁷ *I Henry IV*, 2. 4. 140 ff.

more bustle, more doing. "Bardolph, am I not fallen away vilely since this last action? Do I not bate? Do I not dwindle? Why, my skin hangs about me like an old lady's loose gown: I am withered like an old apple-john."¹ So long as the liver can be kept hot, all is well. Even old age can be defied by those who can always keep in the vaward of youth: "You that are old . . . measure the heat of youth's livers with the bitterness of your galls."² There may come a time for repentance: but it will be "at idle moments," and, rather than in ashes and sackcloth, it can first be in new silk and old sack: and at length, it can surely be suddenly, whilst one is in some liking, and with the last expiring ounce of strength which life retains.

Life's sternest and its ultimate enemy is death: and, as is absolutely inevitable for a hero of comedy whose primary and distinctive duty is to be alive and flourishing at the end of the play, Falstaff has no truck with death. Admittedly, mortal man owes God a death: but "I would be loath to pay him before his day: what need I be so forward with him that calls not on me?"³ Death is indeed so fatal an enemy to life that even jesting references to it are in bad taste, most unsavoury even in simile. If an ill-bred fellow will persist in talking of the gallows, one must switch over at once and remind him that my hostess of the tavern is a most sweet wench. Your Hotspurs may freely make a hazard of their heads for the mere gratification of easing their hearts. But not Falstaff, whose first duty is to ensure survival. Wherefore food and safety are his main requisites. The latter end of a fray and the beginning of a feast are the most auspicious moments of life. If fighting there must be, well: but he will fight no longer than he sees reason. If danger comes his way, so; but if he do not, then "if *I* come in *his* willingly, let him make a carbonado of me."⁴ The better part of valour is discretion, and discretion compels one to seek safeguards. "Hal, if thou see me down in the battle and bestride me, so; 'tis a point of friendship":⁵ and the best moment of a day of battle is the evening of it when all is still well.

Such is Falstaff's sense of the major obligations of life, the

¹ *I Henry IV*, 3. 3. 1 ff.

² *II Henry IV*, 1. 2. 196 ff.

³ *I Henry IV*, 5. 1. 128 ff.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 5. 3. 60 ff.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 5. 1. 121 ff.

groundwork of his philosophy : and he has qualities of mind, of temperament, and of body exquisitely adapted to enable him to make the most of life within his own scheme of it. He has the instinct for self-preservation and for mastery of events. He is a complete pragmatist, weighing everything by its contribution to the one object of his life which is to go on boisterously living. Outside this, there are no sanctions. The difference between truth and falsehood is in an irrelevant order of reckonings. Accepted notions of justice, of duty, of honour, and of valour are built on assumptions which do not apply to his purpose. Nothing is good except in so far as it may be turned to immediate and direct commodity : and he frees himself from every obligation of morality so that he may be alert and unshackled to take advantage of the main chance. All the contortions and the seeming discomfitures in his attempt to make the robbery on Gadshill a tale of his valour are thrown aside as mere retrospect in view of the immediate expectation of further jollity ; “ but, by the Lord, lads, I am glad you have the money.” ¹ The moral and even the political implications of rebellion are of no account : “ well, God be thanked for these rebels, they offend none but the virtuous ; I laud them, I praise them.” ² “ A good wit will make use of anything,” ³ and Falstaff is the perfect opportunist who will turn even diseases to commodity.

The virtue of Falstaff's wit is its alacrity. His mind is complete master of his body. This sheer mass of gorbellied fat-guts is as a feather when his wit is the lever. As he has more flesh than another man, he has also uncountable frailties of the blood. Yet, intolerable as his deal of sack may be, the man is always above his liquor. Sodden as he always must have been, Falstaff is never fuzzy in mind, never drunk. In the most unexpected situations, however the old Adam may rebel, the flesh, the nerves, the blood and the sinews are always entirely at the command of his mind.

There is the famous occasion of his seeming cowardice at Shrewsbury. He has openly vowed that he does not deliberately seek encounters with fire-eating enemies. But if the encounter came, he will meet it as he may. “ Re-enter Douglas ; he

¹ *I Henry IV*, 2. 4. 304.

² *Ibid.*, 3. 3. 213 ff.

³ *II Henry IV*, 1. 2. 277.

fights with Falstaff, who falls down as if he were dead, and exit Douglas.”¹ It looks, and indeed is, a travesty of all received notions of heroism. But is it cowardice? When in your nursery stories, the big-game hunter, his last shot fired, feigned death to escape the oncoming lion who will not touch dead flesh, you admired his perfect control of nerves, his amazing heroism. Why not Falstaff’s? A heroic Hotspur has no such superb self-command. His nerves get the better of him: over-excited by the plot he is hatching, his manner and appearance are a public advertisement of the conspiracy:—

“ Why dost thou bend thine eyes upon the earth,
And start so often when thou sit’st alone?
Why hast thou lost the fresh blood in thy cheeks? ¹

Hotspur’s body palpably betrays his mind, and unfits itself to serve the mind’s decree. He has even lost the capacity to sleep restfully:

“ In thy faint slumbers I by thee have watch’d,
And heard thee murmur tales of iron wars. . . .
Thy spirit within thee hath been so at war
And thus hath so bestirr’d thee in thy sleep,
That beads of sweat have stood upon thy brow,
Like bubbles in a late-disturbed stream;
And in thy face strange motions have appear’d,
Such as we see when men restrain their breath
On some great sudden hest.” ²

Set Hotspur beside Falstaff again. The sheriff and his officers are at the tavern-door to arrest Falstaff on a capital charge. There is no quaking, no trembling, no strange motion in his face. On the contrary, a superb nonchalance, a magnificent indifference to such stupid interruptions of gaiety. “Out, ye rogue,” he says to Bardolph who is excitedly telling of the Sheriff’s arrival, “play out the play.”³ Even when a more importunate notice is given, Falstaff is still too preoccupied with his sport to take heed of it. Then, at his own time, he looks at the situation. He makes no grovelling plea for protection, but almost casually lets it be known that he expects it: “if you will deny the Sheriff, so,” he tells Hal; but “if not, let him enter.” So

¹ *I Henry IV*, 5. 4, stage direction at l. 76.

² *Ibid.*, 2. 3. 45 ff.

³ *Ibid.*, 2. 4. 531 ff.

completely confident is he that he treats himself to one of his very few vaunts at death—"if I become not a cart as well as another man, a plague on my bringing up! I hope I shall as soon be strangled with a halter as another." The Prince, however, suggests that he should hide behind the arras. The Sheriff enters for a moment and is told on a Prince's word that Falstaff is not within. He retires, having been in the room a matter of a few seconds. The arras is at once withdrawn; and Falstaff is found to be asleep, and so soundly asleep that they can pick his pockets without waking him. It is a consummate illustration of his mastery of himself and of his magnificent opportunism: he can turn ever an occasion like this to his own commodity. There is another character in the play, the King himself, who, as will later appear, earns his success by arts comparable in his sphere of responsibility to Falstaff's in his. Yet even here, Falstaff is the greater master. One of Henry's most human moments is his pathetic lament that sleep no more will weigh his eyelids down and that nature's nurse no longer lulls him into restful repose.

One need not, of course, claim 'courage' for Falstaff. But one cannot indite him of cowardice. Neither are relevant terms. What he has is absolute self-possession and an aptitude to employ all the elements of his being for the furtherance of his own welfare. His counterfeiting of death is policy, just as was the King's scheme for avoiding death in battle by having many others disguised in his clothes. Falstaff's is as successful for his purpose as is the King's for his, and it does not, as does the King's, cost anybody his life. Indeed, in Falstaff's vocabulary, it is not counterfeiting at all. "Counterfeit? I lie, I am no counterfeit: to die is to be a counterfeit; for he is but the counterfeit of a man who hath not the life of a man: but to counterfeit dying, when a man thereby liveth, is to be no counterfeit, but the true and perfect image of life indeed."¹ Almost always, since Falstaff's values are his own and not the conventional ones, he will find it necessary to twist words and things from their normal functions to apparently ludicrous ones. But their ludicrousness is caused by unexpected suddenness, not by

¹ *1 Henry IV*, 5. 4. 115 ff.

inherent absurdity. Going into battle, Falstaff arms himself with a bottle of sack, not with a pistol. One recalls a warrior of our day, Captain Bluntschli, who also relied more on articles of sustenance than on firearms. Being Mr. Shaw's soldier, he preferred Cadbury to Bass, chocolate to beer : but his assessment of the relative value of food and of guns is meant seriously. Was it not at Queen Victoria's suggestion (and Shaw did not amuse her) that chocolate became a regular ration in the Boer war? Is not a tot of rum still served a few moments before zero?

Being what he is, so gifted, so entirely and unswervingly devoted to his single purpose, Falstaff triumphs wherever he goes. Whatever the dilemma, whoever the opponent, Falstaff scores. He sees at a glance the stroke to play, half-sword or his old ward : but he has all strokes at command, and none can anticipate his rapid change from one to another. He never knows when he is beaten. He can wrench any true case the wrong way. He turns defence into attack, and at the end, by audacity and effrontery, he rises above his opponents with superb patronage and in complete victory. With a confident brow and a throng of words, or indeed, with but one word, he can reduce an opponent to abject insignificance, putting him in his proper place in a world of which Falstaff is natural king. "*I call thee coward ! I'll see thee damned ere I call thee coward ; but I would give a thousand pound I could run as fast as thou canst.*"¹ So much for Poins. A moment's notice is too much for Pistol. "*Discharge yourself of our company, Pistol*";² and when Pistol goes on brawling, Falstaff ignores him until, the noise becoming too uncomfortable, he rebukes him with Olympian brevity : "*Pistol, I would be quiet.*" But Pistol is too far gone to heed. Bardolph is commanded to throw him out, but it soon appears that Falstaff himself will have to dispose of the roysterer. "*Give me my rapier, boy,*" and then, to Pistol, "*Get you downstairs.*" The ease and confidence of it is typical, and the economy. As with his capture of Coleville, there is marvellous thrift in his nice adaptation of means to the desired end : "*Do ye yield, sir, or shall I sweat for you ?*"³

¹ *I Henry IV*, 2. 4. 161 ff.

² *II Henry IV*, 2. 4. 147.

³ *Ibid.*, 4. 3. 13.

A more sustained encounter is his play with the Lord Chief Justice : the pretended deafness ; the impressively patriotic reproach to the servant ; the strategic friendly concern for the justice's well-being ; the deliberate mishearing, and then the bold confession of it ; the polite hints that the Lord Chief Justice should ponder whether greater ones than he may not be implicated ; then the bid for a sort of moral ascendancy in his own behalf ; a patronising reference to the Justice's wisdom and the prince's rudeness ; and, a last score, the recognised right of the soldier to round on the stay-at-home. The stupendous effrontery reaches its proper climax—"Will your lordship lend me a thousand pounds ?" ¹

Your Shallows, your hostesses, and your Dolls are easier victims. Falstaff merely shifts the responsibility for his debts on to the backs of his creditors ; and, with an air of indefeasible righteousness, acts as if the size of his debt to it rendered him proprietor of the inn. "Shall I not take mine ease in mine inn but I shall have my pockets picked ?" ² When Mrs. Quickly is completely exonerated from the charge he has brought against her, he reduces her to absolute subjection by forgiving her for the crime she has not committed. "Hostess, I forgive thee : go, make ready breakfast ; love thy husband, look to thy servants, cherish thy guests : thou shalt find me tractable to any honest reason : thou seest I am pacified still." ³ For such benign condescension, she will in the end pawn all she has, plate and gowns, to lend him money, and will commemorate the signal favour he is conferring on her in accepting it, by giving him a supper, and, at her own suggestion, inviting Doll, though she be a rival flame, to add to Sir John's joy at the feast.

Prince Hal, of course, has a hereditary prerogative to deal some smart blows in his bouts with Falstaff. But even in these, Falstaff always wins on points, though the round after Gadshill may seem at first view to have gone heavily against him. Whatever the scrape, and however far Falstaff has put himself at a disadvantage, he can always turn the offence into a claim on the whole nation's gratitude. "No abuse, Ned, i' the world ;

¹ *II Henry IV*, 1. 2. 250.

² *I Henry IV*, 3. 3. 92 ff.

³ *Ibid.*, 3. 3. 192 ff.

honest Ned, none. I dispraised him before the wicked, that the wicked might not fall in love with him ; in which doing, I have done the part of a careful friend and a true subject, and thy father is to give me thanks for it.”¹ The Gadshill episode itself will bear closer scrutiny. To think for a moment that the string of lies about the men in buckram was put out as even nominally credible is to set down Falstaff as a half-wit. They are, and were meant to be, gross, open, palpable lies. But they are finely hit on to serve an unexpected purpose. As soon as the robbers have been robbed, a makeshift excuse has to be concocted : there being no suspicion in their minds that a trick has been played on them, an obvious and, so they believe, an uncontestable tale can easily be rigged up—they were overwhelmed by numbers. As no one, they think, saw the fray, all that is necessary is to hack their own swords and draw blood by tickling their noses—and there will thus be ample corroboration. So Falstaff begins the story in the proper key—“ a hundred upon poor four of us ”²—and continues to throw great glory on his own valour. “ I am a rogue, if I were not at half-sword with a dozen of them two hours together. I have scaped by miracle. I am eight times thrust through the doublet, four through the hose ; my buckler cut through and through ; my sword hacked like a hand-saw—*ecce signum ! !* I never dealt better since I was a man : all would not do.” But, immediately, he discovers that his confederates are not skilful players at this game of bluff, hard as they may try. Gadshill lets him down as soon as he opens his mouth : “ we four set upon some dozen.” Falstaff has to jog him discretely—for the original hundred is rapidly diminishing—“ sixteen at least.” Then it is Peto’s turn to show what a bad hand he plays—“ no, no, they were not bound ” : and Falstaff has to make a hot effort to whip him into the right pace. But he sees that it is hopeless. “ I know not what you call all.” He must carry it off from his own hand. At first he sticks to the original suit—they were overwhelmed by numbers : “ if I fought not with fifty of them I am a bunch of radish ”—he even killed two of them—“ two rogues in buckram suits.” But he sees that the original scheme is a failure—

¹ *II Henry IV*, 2. 4. 345 ff.

² *I Henry IV*, 2. 4. 179.

"I tell thee what, Hal, if I tell thee a lie, spit in my face, call me horse." He must improvise on it. He has prepared the way for open lying. Abandoning for the moment all thought of plausibility, he can restore his own confidence by running into a riot of lies. But the lie to serve his turn must be one capable of limitless progression: one, four, nine, eleven and so forth. The infinity of such a mathematical series is its real worth. It assures him of a stretch of time long enough to make him confident that within it some other shift will suggest itself. As indeed it does—"upon compulsion?" When the argument has turned from facts to reasons, reasons for Falstaff will be plentiful as blackberries. The opponents know it, and realising that defeat is imminent on the main issue, they fall back on vituperation: but that is another game at which Falstaff has the odds. There is nothing now for them to do but to return to a recital of the plain facts. It looks like a trump suit: "we two saw your four set on four and bound them, and were masters of their wealth. Mark now, how a plain tale shall put you down. Then did we two set on your four; and, with a word, outpaced you from your prize, and have it." But they have now for the first time disclosed all their cards: and Falstaff can easily out-bid them by an unexpected lead. "By the Lord, I knew ye as well as he that made ye." Hence the winning trick—"Instinct." He can almost make a grand slam of it, turning it to prove that he himself is a valiant lion, and Hal a true prince—no inconsiderable escape from a predicament in which Hal seemed to have overwhelming odds to prove Falstaff an arrant coward.

That is the way of Falstaff. He can wrest every circumstance to his own advantage. Cast for the moment to play the part of a cold-blooded, water-loving, moralising king, he at once sees in it a chance to begin with a cup of sack: "give me a cup of sack to make my eyes look red, that it may be thought I have wept; for I must speak in passion."¹ That is indeed mastery of circumstance, and such a master has the gift of indestructibility. Irrepressible, he will almost triumph over death itself. At least, he will hear his own epitaph spoken, and rise to confound

¹ *I Henry IV*, 2. 4. 422 ff.

the speaker : " embowelled ! if thou embowel me to-day, I'll give you leave to powder me and eat me too to-morrow." ¹

Yet in the end, Falstaff is rejected. Moreover, as Mr. Bradley has pointed out, though the rejection is devastatingly abrupt, yet, in retrospect, the Falstaff of the second part of *Henry IV* is somehow not the complete victor of the first part. His early frolics are the spontaneous and irrepressible exercise of his nature, scrapes and difficulties often sought for the zest of practising his genius for turning them to advantage. But the later escapades are schemes, deliberate plans forced on him by necessities as mean as any which drive a sharper living on his wits to exploit his sordid trickeries. Robbing the King's exchequer in Falstaff's early way is plainly his vocation ; his thefts of later days are merely petty filching. The Gadshill robbery is " for sport's sake, to do the profession some grace." This is recreation. But practising upon the spineless spirit of Mrs. Quickly to make her purse serve his turn, is in another order of exploits. Indeed, after Shrewsbury, Falstaff is perpetually on the watch for gulls whom he can temper between his finger and his thumb and soften into disbursing. There may still be hints of former greatness in the economics of his recruiting scheme, though it is a damnable abuse of the King's press. But the pleasant Cotswold air and the inimitable foolery of Shallow are somewhat spoiled by the known intention to turn them to a thousand pounds loan. And when Falstaff, having cajoled and defrauded Mistress Quickly into abject subjugation, accepts her invitation to supper, his aside to Bardolph as she goes in glee to prepare the feast—" Go, with her ; hook on, hook on," is a plot for more loot which is out of all grace.

The wit may be the same, and its agility. But the setting is different. Throughout the second part of *Henry IV*, the Falstaff who hitherto had pitted himself against kings, princes, and gentlemen, is almost circumscribed to brushes with servants, inferior associates, hostesses, and the raggle-taggle who do a bum-bailliff's dirty work. Only once in this second part has he a real bout with the prince ; and his sallies against the Lord Chief Justice are but reminders of his former triumphs. He

¹ *I Henry IV*, 5. 4. 111 ff.

does not so much fool Shallow as permit Shallow to fulfil his own destiny by proving himself naturally a fool. The earlier Falstaff would have despised the Shallows and the Slenders—except as Gadshill victims—as much as he despised the scarecrows he had pressed into his regiment: they would have been good enough to toss, yet not enough seriously to employ his wit. But now that he finds this consumption of the purse to be an incurable disease, he is at the mercy of the meanest tradesmen. Without their favour, his life can be brought to a standstill: there will be no more satin for a short-cloak. With their talk of security they can withhold all Sir John's requirements, even as did Master Dombledon: "Let him be damned, like the glutton," says Falstaff of this unyielding shopkeeper, "pray God his tongue be hotter! A whoreson Achitophel! a rascally yea-forsooth knave! to bear a gentleman in hand, and then stand on security!"¹ But the tradesman's counter is a barrier Falstaff cannot surmount.

When haberdashery has become an insuperable impediment to Falstaff's existence, his world is no longer what it was. Hitherto, that were all one; there was linen enough on every hedge. But now the low ebb of linen with him is a handicap: he may in a spurt of the old spirit pride himself that he takes but two shirts out with him; but shirts are no longer a superfluity to him in the perpetual motion of drinking old sack, unbuttoning after supper, sleeping upon benches after noon, and greeting fair hot wenches in flame-coloured taffeta. Yet this is only part, and a smaller part, of a sad change.

Falstaff knows that he is not what he was. "A pox of this gout! or, a gout of this pox! For the one or the other plays the rogue with my great toe."² His diseases prove harder to turn to commodity. He had formerly revelled in his vast waist as no slight prompting to his wit. The discomfitures of his heavy going have been an unfailing spur to the quickness of his intellectual sallies. But now he is sensitive to jibes about his bulk. "Men of all sorts take a pride to gird at me."³ As fodder for their jests, he walks before his page "like a sow that hath overwhelmed all her litter but one,"³ a sad way of causing

¹ *II Henry IV*, 1. 2. 39 ff.

² *Ibid.*, 1. 2. 272 ff.

³ *Ibid.*, 1. 2. 7 ff.

wit in other men. He, who had once in his humour likened himself to an apple-john, can no longer tolerate the name of it, for the prince set "a dish of applejohns before him, and told him there were five more Sir Johns, and, putting off his hat, said, 'I will now take my leave of these six dry, round, old withered knights.'" ¹ Such affronts could only now be borne when, leaving fighting o' days and foining o' nights, though Doll be on his knee, he is beginning to patch up his old body for heaven. His bulk pathetically obstructs him: "an I had but a belly of any indifferency, I were simply the most active fellow in Europe: my womb, my womb, my womb, undoes me." ² And when Falstaff himself volunteers, as an explanation of comparative ineffectiveness, "I am old, I am old," ³ it is indeed growing late. There may be a merry song or two before the end. But the man who was born about three of the clock in an afternoon, with a white head and a something round belly, and who has lost his voice with halloing and singing of anthems, will scarcely approve his youth much further.

Yet though Sir John's falling away is plain, no less plain is the suspicion of his author's grief at seeing it. Falstaff must still be allowed his supremacy, though it is superiority over meaner mortals than have formerly been his victims. Only comparatively speaking, and when Shallow is the object of comparison, is he still in good liking or does he bear his years very well. He yet may seem to play his old tricks and with the appearance of equal success. He can, for instance, still so far overcome his mountainous flesh to be—for Doll at all events, and though only for her—her "whoreson little valiant villain," a "sweet, little rogue." ⁴ And shrunk though he be by such association—"You help to make the diseases, Doll; we catch of you, Doll, we catch of you" ⁵—it is still occasionally granted to his virtue to be as good a man as was Sir John. His genius can come to yet more proof for the world's ultimate good than can the specious supremacy of its Lord Johns of Lancaster: "I would you had but the wit: 'twere better than your dukedom." ⁶ Nor does it need memory to call back the

¹ *II Henry IV*, 2. 4. 5 ff.

² *Ibid.*, 4. 3. 22 ff.

³ *Ibid.*, 2. 4. 294.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 2. 4. 225 ff.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 2. 4. 49 ff.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 4. 3. 92.

queer pity of his last moments in *Henry V* to feel the moving sadness of his latter end in the second part of *Henry IV* : "A' made a finer end and went away an' it had been any Christom child ; a' parted even just between twelve and one, even at the turning of the tide ; for after I saw him fumble with the sheets and play with flowers and smile upon his fingers' ends, I knew there was but one way ; for his nose was as sharp as a pen, and a' babbled of green fields. 'How now, Sir John !' quoth I : 'what, man ! be o' good cheer.' So a' cried out 'God, God, God !' three or four times. Now I, to comfort him, bid him a' should not think of God ; I hoped there was no need to trouble himself with any such thoughts yet. So a' bade me lay more clothes on his feet : I put my hand into the bed and felt them, and they were as cold as any stone ; then I felt to his knees . . . and all was as cold as any stone."¹

Though in the second *Henry IV*, the associates left to him now are bottle-ale rascals and wenches as common as the way between St. Albans and London, women related to him as the parish heifers are to the town bull, yet even over such a globe of sinful continents there is spread an air of inexplicable or at least of irrational pathos, in the simple recognition that Sir John, the great Sir John, draws near his end. When he is sent away first to the wars, a man of merit sought after to the last, his departure finds the good wenches so blubbered with tears that their hearts are ready to burst. Between memories of the twenty-nine years come peascod-time that they have known him as the best of honest and true-hearted men, and the fears that he may return no more, there is a weeping which nothing can assuage but such insensibility as comes from sack and still more sack. Doll's kisses may be bought, but her flattering busses for an old decrepit man with an empty purse are the pathetic pledges of a feeling that he is still far worthier than any scurvy boy of them all. The hope is indestructible that, if he have but a care of himself, he may yet fare well enough to give her the riotous joy of dressing herself handsome to celebrate his safe return from the wars. For Doll and such as knew him as she did, he is still "as valorous as Hector of Troy, worth five of Agamemnon

¹ *Henry V*, 2. 3. 11 ff.

and ten times better than the nine Worthies.”¹ Men, other men, all men, may die like dogs ; but “ well, sweet Jack, have a care of thyself.”² As he departs for the scene of battle, all grievances are forgotten : “ Come, I’ll be friends with thee, Jack ; thou art going to the wars ” ;³ but there is the sorrow of happy though reprobate memories in the parting phrase—“ and whether I shall ever see thee again or no, there is nobody cares.”²

This is the Falstaff who lives in the affections of Mistress Doll, of Mistress Quickly, and of the whole world of Shakespeare’s readers, the Falstaff who survives in the memory of man. But he was ruthlessly trampled into extinction by Henry V : casting him off, the King killed his heart. Even more cruelly, so too did Shakespeare. It was murder in Hal ; in Shakespeare, the crime worse than parricide—the slaughter of one’s own offspring.

For Shakespeare, so the story runs, was commanded by his Queen to resuscitate the corpse whose heart had been fracted and corroborate, and to show him in love. Shakespeare obeyed : and there can be no clearer evidence of his own rejection of Falstaff. The boisterous merriment of *The Merry Wives of Windsor* is a cynical revenge which Shakespeare took on the hitherto unsuspecting gaiety of his own creative exuberance. The Falstaff in it bears a name which masks the bitterness of its author’s disillusionment. Any competent dramatist after Plautus could have followed the conventions of comedy, and shown a gross, fat, lascivious, old man ludicrously caught in the toils of his own lust. But for Shakespeare to call that old fat man Falstaff, that is the measure of his bitterness. For, as Mr. Bradley has said, the Falstaff of *The Merry Wives* has nothing in common with our Falstaff except his name, a trick or two of inspired speech, and—though Mr. Bradley has not said this—a superficial likeness to Mr. Stoll’s pattern of the ‘ comic ’ character to be found all the way down the ages of theatrical history.

The masquerading figure in *The Merry Wives* is an old fat fellow whom all can gull to make a public sport. He himself knows how little of the old Sir John survives : it is even time that little were choked with a piece of toasted cheese. “ I have

¹ *II Henry IV*, 2. 4. 236 ff.

² *Ibid.*, 2. 4. 410.

³ *Ibid.*, 2. 4. 70 ff.

been transformed, and how my transformation hath been washed and cudgelled, they [his old associates at court] would melt me out of my fat drop by drop and liquor fisherman's boots with me: I warrant they would whip me with their fine wits till I were as crestfallen as a dried pear."¹ So far is he out at heels that he can only try to provide for himself by shifts and cony-catchings which he has no longer the genius to bring successfully off. He is encumbered with new afflictions. He carries his wine now only like a Flemish drunkard. Not only has he quaking fits of sheer fear, but he openly confesses his intolerable fright. His pride has gone: he himself broadcasts the story of his ignominy: "I knew not what 'twas to be beaten till lately."² "I suffered the pangs of three several deaths; first, an intolerable fright, to be detected with a jealous rotten bellwether; next, to be compassed, like a good bilbo, in the circumference of a peck, hilt to point, heel to head; and then, to be stopped in, like a strong distillation, with stinking clothes that fretted in their own grease: think of that,—a man of my kidney,—think of that,—that am as subject to heat as butter; a man of continual dissolution and thaw: it was a miracle to 'scape suffocation. And in the height of this bath, when I was more than half stewed in grease, like a Dutch dish, to be thrown into the Thames, and cooled, glowing hot, in that surge, like a horse-shoe; think of that,—hissing hot,—think of that."³

Time and again, in *The Merry Wives*, some situation or another recalls by grotesque contrast the extent of Sir John's transformation. Think, for instance, of his impressive nonchalance in planning his own safety at Shrewsbury: "Hal, if thou see me down in the battle, and bestride me, so":⁴ and set by its side his frenzy of fear when news of Ford's return renders him witless to plan anything and makes him appeal in a panic to the women to devise any sort of trick by which he may escape: "good hearts, devise something; any extremity rather than a mischief."⁵ His counterfeits, too, are different. His *sang-froid* deceived Douglas into believing that he was dead enough to need no further killing. But now, he counterfeits by

¹ *Merry Wives*, 4. 5. 98 ff.

² *Ibid.*, 5. 1. 27.

³ *Ibid.*, 3. 5. 109 ff.

⁴ *I Henry IV*, 5. 1. 121.

⁵ *Merry Wives*, 4. 2. 75 ff.

a ludicrous disguise as an old woman merely to avoid a jealous husband (think of how Mistress Quickly was recommended to love *her* husband), and, by so doing, after heavy thwackings, a mere stroke of luck prevents his being set in the common stocks by a knave constable. How are the mighty fallen ! He cannot indeed fall lower than he does when, to escape, not now a Douglas, but a band of children playing fairies, he lies down ostrich-wise, with eyes pressed close to the ground, oblivious altogether of the receipt of fern-seed he used to carry with him. " I'll wink and couch." ²

His wits have lost all their nimbleness. He no longer has the confidence that they will always be quick enough to bring him out of his scrapes. Gone is his old art of creeping into a halfpenny purse, into a pepper box, or slipping through a key-hole. Difficulties which he would formerly have welcomed with zest, no longer excite his exuberance : indeed mere news of them now distracts him. Worse still, his wit is so dulled that he does not even see his difficulties. " I do *begin* to perceive," he says—and that, after he has been fooled egregiously and often,—" I do *begin* to perceive that I am made an ass." ² Truth is, they can fool him even as they wish ; once, twice, three times running, he falls into their toils. Anybody can fool him : neither Mistress Page nor Mistress Ford ever for a moment imagines that he will be too clever for her—

" Devise but how you'll use him when he comes,
And let us two devise to bring him thither." ³

And these are just citizens' wives of Windsor. Even Pistol knows Mistress Quickly for a punk who is Cupid's carrier. But, of all dullards, Mistress Quickly can tell a tale well enough to gull Falstaff now. When such a go-between is amply adequate to overreach Sir John, he is indeed gone beyond recovery. There is scarcely a saving grace. He who had been a prince's confederate in highway escapades is now a receiver of the petty loot of pocket-picking and bag-snatching : a fan-handle now, no longer a king's exchequer : and all for fifteen pence.⁴ He shuffles, hedges, and lurches amongst a sordid gang of uncon-

¹ *Merry Wives*, 5. 5. 52.

³ *Ibid.*, 4. 4. 27 ff.

² *Ibid.*, 5. 5. 124.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 2. 2. 14.

finable baseness. Mean and low as his associates now are, he is on no better than an equal footing with them at best, and as often as not, they round on him and outdo him. With his one-time familiars, he had been Jack Falstaff, John with his brothers and sisters, but Sir John with all Europe.¹ Now he is 'bully-rook' even with a provincial innkeeper. He is on entirely new terms with rascals like Pistol and Nym: "my honest lads," he must call them, to ward off their quips. Not only have they the impudence to jibe at him; they have the audacity to defy him openly, and flatly refuse to do his bidding. In the end, two simple bourgeois and their wives, colleagued with a foolish doctor, a comic Welsh parson, and an innkeeper, can trample the once mighty Falstaff in Windsor's mud. "Have I laid my brain in the sun and dried it, that it wants matter to prevent so gross o'erreaching as this? Am I ridden with a Welsh goat too? Shall I have a coxcomb of frize?"² "Well, I am your theme: you have the start of me; I am dejected; I am not able to answer the Welsh flannel; ignorance itself is a plummet o'er me: use me as you will."³ "Use me as you will": that is, in fine, to put a period to the jest.

But why this ruthless exposure, this almost malicious laceration of him who had once rejoiced the hearts of his author and of the rest of the world?

It might be, and has been, claimed that the original Falstaff overgrew his part, and had to be turned out of the cycle at the point when Hal became king. As has been seen, there is matter in the second *Henry IV* to suggest that Shakespeare was leading Falstaff to his dismissal: matter, also, hinting that he did it reluctantly. But if Sir John had necessarily to go, could he not have been allowed a death-bed—a more certain dismissal than a king's rejection—before Hal's coronation? An apoplexy, any affliction to which the body of man is liable might, without stretch of likelihood, have been called in to remove a Falstaff who, on a professional diagnosis, "might have more diseases than he knew for."⁴ Moreover, his removal by mere royal edict brought technical troubles with it, the dubieties surrounding

¹ *II Henry IV*, 2. 2. 142 ff.

² *Merry Wives*, 5. 5. 143 ff.

³ *Ibid.*, 5. 5. 170 ff.

⁴ *II Henry IV*, 1. 2. 5.

the character of Hal. Why then did Shakespeare rest satisfied with Henry's rejection of Falstaff as the expedient by which to get rid of him? Is it indeed Henry, or is it Shakespeare who rejects Falstaff? Throughout the second *Henry IV* Falstaff is falling from Shakespeare's grace; by the end of the play, he has almost forced his author, though reluctantly, to face up to the situation. Falstaff has in fact displayed his inability to be what had seemed to be. He has disqualified himself as a comic hero. He has let Shakespeare down.

The figure which the dramatist's imagination had intuitively compounded, had seemed infinitely better provided than any of his predecessors with the gifts of the comic hero. With such a spirit, such a mind, such intuitions, and such an outlook on life, he appeared to bear within his own nature a complete guarantee of survival and of mastery of circumstance, the pledge of the perfect comic hero. But somehow or other, when the intoxication of creating him is momentarily quieter, hesitations begin to obtrude and the processes of creation are different. The clogging becomes stronger. Falstaff must be cast off, as he is cast off at the end of the second *Henry IV*. But a pathetic hope persists, and is spoken in the Epilogue: it may still be possible to save Sir John: "our humble author will continue the story with Sir John in it, and make you merry with fair Katherine of France: where, for any thing I know, Falstaff shall die of a sweat, unless already a' be killed with your hard opinions."¹ But before the play with Katherine in it is written, the issue is settled. Falstaff is irrevocably discredited, fit for nothing more but Windsor forest.

This suggestion as to the decline and fall of Falstaff neither requires nor presupposes a conscious purpose in Shakespeare's reason. In the sheer abandon of his imaginative fervour, Falstaff and the circumstances he overcomes are projected by the unthinking zest of the author's imaginative apprehension, and shape themselves into the coherent universe which a play makes for itself. But at moments the world of his creation is threatened by the intrusion of circumstances which will have destroyed its validity if they should prove too much for Falstaff. And

¹ *II Henry IV*. Epilogue.

by no fetch of his imagination can he endow Falstaff with the aptitude to acquire his customary mastery over these intrusions : nor, springing as did Falstaff himself from his imagination, can they be dismissed more readily than can he. In the way in which, without deliberate judgment, an artist's creation of an image of life is satisfying, Falstaff had satisfied Shakespeare. Within the scope of worldly wisdom, which is the philosophy of comedy, Falstaff had seemed to justify entire trust. In this sense, Shakespeare believed in him ; and Falstaff proved to be a god with feet of clay. Hence his bitter disillusionment and his willingness to call the contemptible caricature of *The Merry Wives* by the name of Sir John Falstaff.

The argument here set out may seem to rest unduly on a speculative notion of the extent and the nature of Shakespeare's first faith in Falstaff. Since drama depicts man amongst men and against a background of society and of circumstance, a dramatist inevitably fashions a world for his own creatures. A comic dramatist shapes a world semblably like our own, and releases into it from his intuitions a figure equipped to be comfortably at home in it and skilled to adapt himself to its material and human conditions, a figure possessing as by instinct the secret of worldly wisdom and thereby gifted to turn existence to his own security and happiness. No earlier creation of Shakespeare's was so eminently endowed as was Falstaff with these attributes. He appeared to solve the artistic problem of the comic dramatist : one could pledge one's faith to him entirely. From such an artistic faith, it is an easy step to an unquestioning belief that Falstaff has achieved a mastery of life itself, of life, that is, as a thing to be lived, and, within its own conditions, as a thing to be prized above all else.

Conviction in such ranges of value comes to the artist, and to the watcher of the plays, not by argument, but by imaginative demonstration. And it is abundantly clear that the Falstaff of the first *Henry IV* shows himself in very act to be worthier in this respect than the other many sorts of men who confront such problems as he does in the world of which they are all inhabitants.

The situations of *I Henry IV* continually bring the immediate

and pertinent worth of Falstaff into comparison with that of Hal, of Hotspur, and of Henry IV. The comparison is usually enriched by dramatic contrasts, and to secure these contrasts, it is generally Falstaff's rôle to be placed at first at a signal disadvantage. But he invariably comes out best. Of Falstaff's relations with Hal, little more need be said: Falstaff's wit is always a sufficiently effective means of his securing even honours. If one doubts this at moments, there is always his final and incontestable appeal to fall back on—"Hal, thou owest me thy love."¹ That is a security so valid and certain that only the unthinkable inhumanity of Hal renders it invalid and worthless in the end.

In contrast with Falstaff, Hotspur has all the gifts which count in the world's admiration:

"I do not think a braver gentleman,
More active-valiant or more valiant-young,
More daring or more bold, is now alive
To grace this latter age with noble deeds."²

His beliefs, no less than his temperament, appear to secure him in our affections. He dedicates his vigour and his life to the service of humanity's most inspiring ideal—honour—the very ideal which for Falstaff is a mere scutcheon, a word, thin air.

"By heaven, methinks it were an easy leap,
To pluck bright honour from the pale-faced moon,
Or dive into the bottom of the deep,
Where fathom-line could never touch the ground,
And pluck up drowned honour by the locks."³

Hence, Hotspur revels in danger, whilst Falstaff's unabashed and unhidden code is safety first.

"Send danger from the east unto the west,
So honour cross it from the north to south,
And let them grapple."⁴

Danger provides, indeed, a physical thrill for Hotspur which helps to gratify his avid thirst for the excitement of life:

"O, the blood more stirs
To rouse a lion than to start a hare."⁵

¹ *I Henry IV*, 3. 3. 156.

² *Ibid.*, 5. 1. 89 ff.

³ *Ibid.*, 1. 3. 201 ff.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 1. 3. 195 ff.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 1. 3. 197 ff.

Yet in effect his creed is built on a fundamental contempt for life—his own, and that of others :

“ life’s time’s fool,
And time, that takes survey of all the world,
Must have a stop.” ¹

But for Falstaff, life is all in all : “ give me life : which if I can save, so ; if not, honour comes unlooked for, and there’s an end.” ²

Yet Hotspur’s honour would be scanned. Not only because, pursued as a stimulant to life, it nevertheless leads directly to death. Nor even because, leading him winking to leap into destruction, it also carries his troops with him to their death. But, appearing as a shining example of pure chivalric honour, it yet shows itself contaminated with inglorious elements of sheer selfishness. He will pluck up drowned honour from the deep

“ So that he that doth redeem her thence might wear
Without corrival all her dignities.” ³

Such honour rests largely on a personal pride which measures itself by the prestige gained in the world : and such a personal sense of pride may gratify itself with meaner possessions. Hotspur’s honour, for instance, professes itself to be involved in what on the face of it is a merely commercial deal in property : his dissatisfaction with his own share in the material loot of rebellion, he puts forth as an issue of honour :

“ But in the way of bargain, mark ye me,
I’ll cavil on the ninth part of a hair.” ⁴

Honour on such terms is little better at best than a heightened susceptibility to affront, seeing shame where no shame is meant, a sensitiveness to popular reputation which is not always a clear claim on the good thoughts of the world. Sometimes it is not better than an instinct to exact vengeance from those who appear to impugn a reputation : “ we’ll be revenged on him ” ⁵ is Hotspur’s final reason for rebellion. An honour so colourable may be only an envious contempt for others to whom the world awards its praise, and a contemptible desire to put them out of competition even though by dastardly measures :

“ But that I think his father loves him not
And would be glad he met with some mischance,
I would have him poison’d with a pot of ale.” ⁶

¹ *I Henry IV*, 5. 4. 81 ff.

² *Ibid.*, 5. 3. 63 ff.

³ *Ibid.*, 1. 3. 206 ff.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 3. 1. 139 ff.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 1. 3. 291.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 1. 3. 232 ff.

In its ultimate expression, when Hotspur for the last time meets Hal, his honour is hard to distinguish from a mere brag :

“ would to God

Thy name in arms were now as great as mine ! ” ¹

Dying, Hotspur's regret is not for the loss of brittle life, but for the loss of those proved titles Hal has won of him, for they wound his thoughts worse than the sword his flesh.

Such, at least in great part, is what honour is to Hotspur : and a Falstaff, living in Hotspur's world, is capable of seeing it for what it is. In any case, whatever be the ultimate moral basis of Hotspur's honour, the immediate conviction brought by the action of the play is that honour renders Hotspur a menace to himself, to his friends, and to the world of his time. It is an ally of the rashness of his temperament. He is altogether governed by humours. As his friends tell him,

“ Though sometimes it show greatness, courage, blood,—

And that's the dearest grace it renders you,—

Yet oftentimes it doth present harsh rage,

Defect of manners, want of government,

Pride, haughtiness, opinion and disdain ;

The least of which haunting a nobleman

Loseth men's hearts and leaves behind a stain

Upon the beauty of all parts besides,

Beguiling them of commendation.” ²

Falstaff fights when he cannot help it, and then no longer than he need. Hotspur rushes into a fight before he is ready for it, on the specious plea that unpreparedness, shortage of numbers, and so forth, are in themselves an advantage in the assessment of honour :

“ It lends a lustre and more great opinion,

A larger dare to our great enterprise.” ³

But the end tries all. Falstaff comes with “ honours ” from Shrewsbury, Hotspur is left there a corpse. And with Hotspur lie also his cause, and the bodies of his adherents. He is indeed utterly incapable of adapting himself to circumstance, or even of remembering to do the obviously necessary thing. He comes to a political conference—and has forgotten to bring the necessary

¹ *I Henry IV*, 5. 4. 69 ff. ² *Ibid.*, 3. 1. 181 ff. ³ *Ibid.*, 4. 1. 77 ff.

documents and maps. He quarrels with his friends : he antagonises his fellow-conspirators : he brings destruction on everybody and everything he stands to uphold and to protest. In the world of political life, in the world of social man, he himself is a patent failure and a danger to his associates.

Even in the materially smaller society which is marriage he is but fortuitously proficient. His ineptitude in the exercise of domestic sense is flagrant. His wife pressingly and fondly enquires the causes of the distemperature which he cannot hide even in the seclusion of his own room. But he is inattentive, and when spasmodically he starts from his abstraction, it is merely to summon a servant for information about posts and horses. Only at length does he deign to give his wife an off-hand attention—"What say'st thou, my lady?" and before she can reply, his mind is off again. To her further importunity, he has no reply but flippant evasions which culminate in a flat refusal to tell her anything at all on grounds of which the sting is their seeming jollity :

" I know you wise, but yet no farther wise
Than Harry Percy's wife : constant you are,
But yet a woman : and for secrecy,
No lady closer ; for I well believe
Thou wilt not utter what thou dost not know."¹

Nothing but the mystery of personal affection can explain the permanence of a society conducted on principles like these. Even so, on the score of adherents gained, in the play itself and in the world of readers, by the spell of personality, clearly, though Hotspur has his conquests, Falstaff's are no fewer than his. And in all other things as measured by the play, Falstaff succeeds, Hotspur fails.

In efficiency, indeed, efficiency to live the life to which one is called, there is only one person in the play to set beside Falstaff, namely, the King himself. A comparison of them at length would take us into a consideration of Shakespeare's view of kingship : but this can be deferred for the present purpose.² The King's

¹ *I Henry IV*, 2. 3. 110 ff.

² Something of it, and of the relation of Falstaff to Faulconbridge, will be found in my article "Shakespeare, Politics, and Politicians," *English Association Pamphlet*, No. 72, 1929.

immediate task is to maintain the welfare of the state of England ; Falstaff's is to preserve the well-being of the corporation of Sir John. There is a striking similarity in the obligations imposed by each of these purposes, and in the means by which each of the actors secures his ends. The wit of Falstaff and the policy of the King are instruments which rest on similar assumptions. Morality enters into the schemes of neither of them : they remain free from the constraints of all conventions and of all generally accepted principles. Each in his own sphere is the perfect exponent of expediency. "Are these things then necessities? Then let us meet them like necessities." For both of them "nothing can seem foul to those that win." But the political necessities which are the King's sphere require him to purchase success by the complete subjugation of personal affection, human sentiment, and natural instinct. At moments, as a father, he utters the distress of the man ; but the politician has already locked the outer world out of doors, when in the privacy of his own room, he unfolds his paternal grief to his wayward son. Falstaff is no less beyond the constraint of general sanctions. But as a social creature for whom life is not, unless it be with his fellows and nowise aloof from them, Falstaff can employ his wit without renouncing the instinctive promptings of his humanity or, at least, of his flesh. At the end, he emerges no less successful than the King, and insuperably superior to this cold-blooded politician in his claims on our regard. Falstaff, without doubt has demonstrated his right to be considered a matchless victor in the world which is the world of affairs and of comedy. But no less certainly, he has been cast out of it.

Why then did Shakespeare reject him? Remembering that doubts as to Falstaff's validity begin to be an under current in *II Henry IV*, it may be well to seek a clue at the latter end of *I Henry IV*. In that place, Falstaff's great display is on the battle-field at Shrewsbury, and it reaches its comic climax in his catechism concerning honour. There is not an article of this catechism which is not a direct consequence of Falstaff's necessary behaviour as the hero of such comedy as that of which he proves himself the most convincing exponent. Formulating his objections to Hal's assertion that he should regard death as a due,

he remarks that the only motive to urge him to pay the debt before it is due, is honour. "Well, 'tis no matter; honour pricks me on." And so, his scrutiny of the conditions involved in such a categorical imperative. "How if honour prick me off when I come in?" How, in fact, if I am slain? "How then?" Clearly it is a sacrifice of his essential virtue as a hero of comedy. Further, "can honour set to a leg? No: or an arm? No: or take away the grief of a wound? No. Honour hath no skill in surgery, then? No." And surgery is in the last resort life's protection against death. How far, then, without actually depriving one of the indispensable virtue of comedy, how far does honour tend partly to disqualify one for the rôle of hero of comedy? It is clearly a partial disablement even at best. So in the face of such a reckoning, the direct question must be asked: "what is honour?" and an answer is forced on the questioner. "What is honour? A word. What is in that word honour? What is that honour? Air." It is certainly a trim reckoning. But if corroboration be called for, observation supplies it out of hand. "Who hath honour? He that died o' Wednesday"; that is, he who last Wednesday resigned all claim to be a comic hero. "Therefore"—and with uncontestable consequence—"therefore, I'll none of it."

It is all as pertinent as could be, and Hotspur's conventionally heroic greeting to death which follows almost at once—"if we die, brave death, when princes die with us"—comes as a patent irrelevance. "I like not such grinning honour as Sir Walter" and other corpses have. Honour, honour as men make it, is palpably not an objective but an accident of life. "Give me life: which if I can save, so; if not, honour comes unlooked for." And there, inevitably, appears to be an end.

But is it an end? The question persists: "wherein is Falstaff good; but to taste sack and drink it? Wherein neat and cleanly, but to carve a capon and eat it? Wherein cunning, but in craft? Wherein crafty, but in villany? Wherein villanous, but in all things? Wherein worthy, but in nothing?"¹ Even in Falstaff's own world, are there no things not to be assessed by the yardstick with which he measures everything?

¹ *I Henry IV*, 2. 4. 501 ff.

His own instinct, for instance? Or the rationally unaccountable impulse which makes him go counter to his purpose and stick to Poins: "I have foresworn his company hourly any time this two and twenty years, and yet I am bewitched with the rogue's company."¹ It is something unintelligible—witchcraft; "if the rascal have not given me medicines to make me love him, I'll be hanged; it could not be else; I have drunk medicines."¹ These are forces in life which Falstaff's measuring stick cannot measure. Yet he is dependent on their reality. "Instinct" saves him from one mischance; "love" is, in the last resort, his plea to Hal to avoid another; and something which he no doubt would call love is the might by which he secures the indispensable aid of Mistress Quickly. If these elements of life he admitted to such power, then not only is *homo* no longer the common name of all men, it is indeed inadequate to any one sort of man. The meanest band of ragamuffins is something more than food for powder; and that something more is infinitely more humanly valuable than the monies Falstaff got by working on his own premises about them, something which is altogether outside the compass of Falstaff's scales. "Honour," "a good name," not only to Falstaff but also to Hotspur, may appear to be an article of commerce, a commodity to be bought. But in the certified records of human existence, it has been something more, something infinitely more. Honour, faith, love, truth, self-sacrifice—these are things in the light of which men have lived joyously,—the matter for comedy—and at the bidding of which they have happily died—the matter for tragedy, or, may be, for a divine comedy. But for Falstaff they have no existence. "Sirrah, there's no room for faith, truth, nor honesty in this bosom of thine; it is all filled up with guts and midriff."²

That is Falstaff's failure. It was in this realisation of Falstaff's incompleteness on the eve before Shrewsbury that Shakespeare felt the wine of life begin to taste like gall and wormwood on his tongue. But, though for a moment, and indeed for a more protracted stretch, the memory of Falstaff as he had seemed to be, excited a sense of disillusionment and even of such scorn as is presupposed by *The Merry Wives*, yet with

¹ *I Henry IV*, 2. 2. 16 ff.

² *Ibid.*, 3. 3. 173 ff.

wider imaginative experience something of Falstaff was finally saved—his common sense, his intuitive apprehension of the facts of existence within the limits which life itself imposes, and his insatiable thirst for such a life amongst the rest of mortals.

But the world in which Falstaff's successors in comedy would have to prove their genius for mastery, would necessarily have to be a larger and a richer world than Falstaff's, one in which room would be found for the things unknown to Falstaff, things proved now to be no less necessary to life, things such as love and faith and truth and honour. Falstaff had indeed acquired a mastery of life. But it was by denying to his universe the very things which give life its supreme values. He had conquered a world, only to reveal that such a world was not worth conquest.

It is a devastating end to such a gigantic effort. It might well appear that Shakespeare had come to a dead end in his progress towards the ideal of comedy. Falstaff had seemed so near it, and Falstaff had failed. To go farther Shakespeare would have to save himself from his own Falstaff. His imagination would have to cast about for a being bigger than Falstaff—*absit omen*—a being in whom the elements of human nature would be richer than in Falstaff, one who would by nature be endowed with a sense for those forces in human life which enrich it immeasurably, and which for Falstaff had been as if they were not. That chapter of Shakespeare's artistic life is to be found in the salvage of those exciting voyages of imaginative discovery which the world has wrongly named his 'dark comedies'; and his final conquest is indubitably recorded in the three great mature comedies. But to follow him through these stages to victory must be the matter of subsequent exposition.

ASPECTS OF SUMERIAN CIVILIZATION DURING THE THIRD DYNASTY OF UR.

WITH EVIDENCE FROM TABLETS IN THE JOHN RYLANDS
LIBRARY.

BY THE REVEREND T. FISH, PH.D. (CANTAB.).

III.—RIVERS AND CANALS.

THE land of Sumer was the gift of the rivers Euphrates and Tigris. Possibly a native, a contemporary of Ur III (*circa* 2300 B.C.), would not have appreciated the fact. He might even have violently denied it, pointing to all that the rivers took away when in flood, and, more important, to the labour required to control the river that men might live. A contemporary king would have said that one of his main duties as tenant of the gods was to defend the land and the people from a two-fold peril : the peril of too much and the peril of too little water. And all the Sumerian folk must have been conscious of one of the lessons of the national poem, "Enuma Elish" ; namely, that the land on which men lived was not so much what the water gave as what the water gave up ; after a violent struggle. Nevertheless it is true that the land of Sumer was formed by the alluvial deposits of the rivers Euphrates and Tigris which oppose to the sea some of the burden which they have brought down from the Armenian hill country in which they rise. A delta of mud and clay and sand appears in place of the sea which has been forced back ; a process still going on to the extent, it is said, of a mile and a half every hundred years.

One of the primary needs of man is food. Hence one of the primary occupations of man is the production of foodstuffs. For this work of production the Sumerian had land of excellent quality. He had too, in the rivers and their branches, a water

supply that was, in quantity, adequate. But it was not constant and it was not "economically" distributed. It was not constant: the Euphrates on or near which the Sumerian lived, was too full during its brief flood season, and not full enough during the long dry season. It was not economically distributed by nature: it was concentrated on or about the river and did not in the natural course, reach the fields lying out in the "desert."

To effect constant supply and economical distribution of the river water necessary for fertilization of potentially good land, was a basic occupation of the Sumerians. It was effected by means of canals and dykes which led the water from the river by means of reservoirs and by ponds which stored the water against the dry season. Neglect would mean death to vegetation, cattle and men by drought and disease. Whenever in human history there has been neglect, ruin and desolation have resulted. To-day Iraq, where it is not marsh, is a net-work of canals; the greater number disused, choked, parched and crumbling; a witness to an earlier industry and a later indifference. The presence of British irrigation officers in Iraq since the war has been described as the first-fruits of British occupation. But there were irrigation officers in Iraq 5000 years ago, tackling the same problems for the same end: food. The Sumerians succeeded and have left us records of their work.

It must be stated at the outset that the body of evidence is not large. It is direct and indirect. The indirect evidence is this: masses of records from each town excavated, show that the yield of land under cultivation was very great, and consistently so. Such plentiful yield affords good evidence of efficient irrigation and the diligent care of waterways. The direct evidence is scanty, i.e. we have comparatively few actual records of which the matter is canals and irrigation work. The explanation of such lack of evidence may be of this sort: (i) the matter of the records is the unusual, the new; so that the making of a new canal would be recorded, but the regular care of an existing one would not; and (ii) the character of the records is an official character; they are, so to say, municipal documents; and as such they are not concerned to record the work done by a private owner and his men on a canal, or a portion

of a canal which supplies his private field, and is therefore his private responsibility.

Yet actual record does exist. Some of it is to be read on the Sumerian tablets of the John Rylands Collection. The larger part is scattered among the large quantities of tablets in other collections. All of it, or all that is known to me, from the period of Ur III, has been used for the purposes of this article and almost all of it is embodied in the text or supplied in the references.

Actual record of our time and for our purpose, is of three kinds: the royal inscriptions, the year names, and the data in the body of the tablets called "Temple Records." From the time of the Third Dynasty of Ur we have one piece of each of the first two kinds of evidence. An inscription¹ of Ur Nammu, the first king of Ur III, states that he dug "the canal bearing the name 'Nannargugal,' and the boundary canal." The tablet is from Lagash and the boundary referred to is probably that between Lagash and its neighbour Umma. Of the second kind of evidence, year names, we have the detail² that the construction of the Nintu canal gave the official name to one of the years of the Ur period. It is as yet impossible to say to which of the five reigns the year belongs; probably to the reign of Ur Nammu, the first, or of Ibi Sin, the last king of the dynasty.

A study of the royal inscriptions of the Ur kings shows that there is far less record of the construction of canals during their reigns than during the reigns of their predecessors; for the obvious reason that the work of the earlier kings had survived and was adequate for national needs. It may be, however, that the inscriptions found at Ur during the post-war excavations will reveal much local activity in this respect.

The rest of this article is based on the third class of evidence, "Temple Records."

It is said that sailors are accustomed to speak of the water by which they approach a great town under the name of that town. Thus the Yare is Norwich River and the Lower Thames is the River of London. There is something of this in the name of the Euphrates as written by the Sumerians. The spoken name was Buranum, but the ideogram by which they

¹ SAK., p. 188, i).

² RTC. 270; ITT., iv. 8066.

wrote the name was "The River of Sippar." The implication of the ideogram is that the river gave access to Sippar. Perhaps the ideogram dates from the time when Sippar was the most important southerly terminal of the Euphrates before it poured itself into the sea. In contrast to this, no place-name enters into the composition of the ideogram used to express the Tigris. This may be explained by the fact that none of the Sumerian cities were situated on the Tigris. The Sumerian name for the Tigris was *Idigna* which means flowing, powerful, vehement; characteristics of the Tigris in contrast to the slower and more manageable Euphrates.

The two rivers are seldom mentioned on the records of Ur III. We read of the bank of the Tigris and of the Euphrates in connection with the carrying of a stele or statue of Šulgi to the great feast; of the temple of Enki, lord of the earth, on the bank of the Tigris;² of barley, sesame, pomegranates on the bank of the Tigris.³ A badly preserved tablet⁴ shows traces of *ka id-Idigna*, i.e. the mouth of the river Tigris; and another tablet⁵ has the item that ten men were employed at the *u* of the Tigris. The meaning of *u* in this context is uncertain. Deimel suggests, with a query, "eine Art Bewässerungsgraben"⁶ and quotes instances of its use, similar to this context, from earlier documents.

It would be hazardous to argue that because the Euphrates is mentioned but once, the capital sites of the kingdom of Ur were not on the Euphrates but on some branch of it. Nor is the evidence of modern travellers decisive. They state that they have been able to follow old canals through and past the towns of Nippur, Umma and Lagash, from which our tablets have come. Thus Peters⁷ writes of Nippur "situated in the alluvial region . . . at the north-east of the Affech marshes which are formed by the overflow of the Euphrates . . . (it) lies about 100 miles east of south of Baghdad. The Shatt en-Lil runs through the mounds." And of Yokha, i.e. the ancient Umma and the mounds 15 minutes s.w. of Yokha . . . "evidently an important centre of population once existed here.

¹ STD. 56 : 25.² ITT., iv. 7310.³ *Ibid.*, 7480 ; 7686.⁴ STD. 31.⁵ Jean, S. A., 78.⁶ *Sum. Lex.* p. 877, 30).⁷ Peters, *Nippur*, vol. 2, pp. 105, 106.

Close to these mounds runs an old canal bed said by the Arabs to be the Shatt en-Lil, or ancient Nil canal. This . . . left the Euphrates at Babylon. . . . One branch of the canal according to the statements of ancient writers, connected the Euphrates with the Tigris. Another branch ran southward through Nippur, and this we were able to trace past Bismya and Yokha until it rejoined the Euphrates at Warka, the ancient Erech."¹ And of Tello, the ancient Lagash, "situated on the southern shore of the Shatt el-Hai . . . a great ship canal which from time immemorial has connected the Tigris with the Euphrates."² But others mark Tello on the Shatt en-Nil.

It is clear that the modern mounds of ancient sites are on old waterways. But the problem is what is the relation of those old waterways to the ancient course of the Euphrates. Some regard them as remains of ancient canals or branches of the Euphrates. Others regard them as the actual course of the river ages ago. There seems to be no decisive evidence in the matter from ancient records. To-day, at any rate, Umma, for example, is about sixty kilometers, as a bird flies, from the modern course of the Euphrates. Peters remarked "at the present time not a drop of water within three miles of Yokha even in the season of the inundations."

We may divide the waterways, other than the Euphrates and Tigris, according to their names, into those named by names of towns, those named by names of gods, and the rest named by names of persons or by some, and to us usually obscure title.

The following are the canals named by names of places :—

The canal of A-suhur town (id A-suhur-ki).³

The canal of Girsu (id Gir-su-ki), a suburb of Lagash.⁴

The canal of Ibla town (id Ib-la-ki).⁵

The canal of Sila-la town (id Sila-la-ki).⁶

The Canal of Umma (id-da Giš. Uh-ki).⁷

¹ Peters, *Nippur*, vol. 2, pp. 279, 281.

² *Ibid.*, p. 290.

³ ITT., III. 6431 (dug by Ur Nina, cp. SAK. p. 4, c. 3 : 7).

⁴ *Ibid.*, 5972 ; 6158 ; V. 6967 ; STD. 224 : 16 ; Contenau, *Umma*, 54.

⁵ *An(alecta) Or(ientalia)*, I. 88 : 286.

⁶ J(ohn) R(ylands), 625, 712 ; Chiera STA. 86, 162 ; *An. Or.* I. 144 ; *Or(ientalia)*, nos. 47-49. 151, 337 : 15, 500 : 124 ; *Umma*, 65 ; STD. 1.

⁷ STD. 266.

The canal that goes to Nina town (*id Nina-ki-šù gin*).¹

Of the towns from which our tablets come, Umma alone occurs in canal names, though Girsu and Nina were part of Lagash. Two ² Rylands tablets refer to the "wharf of Umma" (*kar Giš. Uh.-ki*), and an unpublished Harvard tablet ³ reads "from the wharf of Umma." Another tablet ⁴ records ship-loads of corn going from the town of A-ka-sila to the mouth (*ka*) of the canal of Umma.

One item in connection with the Girsu canal deserves special attention. A number of Umma tablets,⁵ but no Lagash tablets, have the phrase "*AN. ZA. QAR id-Gir-su-ki*." *An. za. qar* has been treated as a name of a god and as the name of a person. It is, in fact, neither. It is the Sumerian word for the semitic *dimtu*, a pillar or a tower, but these words do not convey all that the word stood for in the Sumerian mind, and all that is suggested by the context in which the word stands on our tablets. We may consider two tablets in the Rylands collection.⁶

The first records rations of beer, barley, meal, sheep, butter, fats, reeds, for the couriers in (*ša*) the *AN. ZA. QAR* of the Girsu canal. A few of the texts mentioned above are similar.

The second records animals for the house of the couriers (*é-rim*) of the *AN. ZA. QAR* of the Girsu canal.

From these tablets it is clear that the *AN. ZA. QAR* was populated and that it included a special building for couriers, police.

Further light on the *dimtu* is thrown by a letter of Hammurabi's time, where it is said that a certain Lugatum has removed his oxen to *dimtu* for field work.⁷

All this is in line with what Mr. Gadd has written concerning *dimtu* in his study of Kirkuk tablets.⁸ "A *dimtu* signifies a commune or village, since (on the Kirkuk tablets) we hear of houses standing upon it." He describes a New-Babylonian (?)

¹ ITT., II. 702; IV. 7712; Reisner TU. 111 : 9, 152, 1 : 16; Hussey ST., II. 150.

² JR. 618, 630.

³ 7165.

⁴ STD. 266.

⁵ Lutz STR., pt. II. 27; Chiera *C(uneiform) B(ullae)*, 1 : 11, 3 : 18, 7 : 20, 25 : 15, 30 : 23.

⁶ JR. 871, III., 783 : 7.

⁷ Ungnad : *Altbabylonische Briefe*, 7 : 5-7.

⁸ *Revue d'Assyriologie*, 1926, p. 84, note.

plan of an estate, preserved on a tablet belonging to the University of Pennsylvania. "The land is bounded on one side by a road, and on another by a canal, which also intersects the property and has two wharves upon its banks. . . . At the back of the estate, against the boundary is drawn another small square, marked *AN. ZA. QAR*, evidently the site of the watch tower."

It is likely that the *AN. ZA. QAR* of our Umma tablets was like that of the Kirkuk tablets a thousand years later. Certainly such information as we have points that way. The *rim* would be runners, scouts, on duty at the watch tower, of an estate on the Girsu canal.

The following are the canals named after gods and goddesses of the local pantheon :—

The Bauhegal canal.¹

The Ningirsu canal.²

The Nin-tu canal.³

The Ninurra canal.⁴

The canal Šarahegal.⁵

The canal Šetir.⁶

The canal Šulpae.⁷

The names occur on Lagash and Umma tablets. The two Lagash canals are the canal Bauhegal and the canal Ningirsu ; their names celebrate two deities special to Lagash. The canal name Šarahegal is appropriate at Umma where Šara was specially honoured. We may note that four of the gods named, Bau, Šara, Ningirsu and Nintu were gods of agriculture, and therefore suitably connected with the waterways on which local agriculture depended.

Some canals bear the names of the Ur kings Šulgi⁸ and Bur Sin.⁹ The names were given during the reign of the king whose name they carried and survived him ; e.g. we read of the canal Šulgi in his 46th year and in the 8th of his successor, Bur Sin ; and of the canal Bur Sin in his 3rd year and in the 6th of his successor.

¹ ITT., iv. 6925. ² Hussey, ST., II. 13. ³ RTC., 270 ; ITT., II. 8066.

⁴ *An. Or.*, I. 73 : 2.

⁵ Lutz STR., pt. 1, 8 : 4.

⁶ *An. Or.*, I. 193 : 6.

⁷ *Ibid.* 149 : 3.

⁸ JR. 609 ; ITT., iv. 7407, 7530 ; *ibid.*, v. 6755 ; *Or.* 47-49, 382 : 97, 511 : 16.

⁹ JR. 617 ; STD., 223 ; Lutz STR., pt. 2, 21.

One canal is named the Royal canal (id lugal).¹ Hammurabi opened up a canal of the same name ; and a canal of that name is known in the land to this day. Ringelmann's view was that a " Royal Canal " was one of three canals running almost parallel, joining the Euphrates and the Tigris. The name was probably given to many canals.

There is a reference ² to a canal of the patesi, a sort of viceroy in the provinces. The tablet bears the seal of Ur Negun, the patesi of Umma, and is dated in the 32nd year of the reign of Šulgi. Perhaps the name conveys no more than that the canal ran through his estate.

The names of the remaining canals recorded in this age are : Sub-gibil,³ Dul nunuz,⁴ Ē. Gir,⁵ Ē (?)-maḥ,⁶ It-ti,⁷ Mu-kal-li,⁸ Nam-ḫa-ni,⁹ Sa-la-¹⁰ ḫŠul-gi-i-li,¹¹ Ug-dim,¹² Ur-ḫBabbar,¹³ U-sur,¹⁴ Za-ri-iq.¹⁵ Of these names some are certainly the names of persons, two are temple names.

Three waterways are named by the names of fields : the canal of the field of ḫLugalšunirra ;¹⁶ the canal of the field of Ē-sub-a ;¹⁷ and the canal of the field of gis-balag.¹⁸

It seems therefore that canals received the names of the owners of the lands or estates, or of the buildings, or of the fields, through or by which the water flowed.

Canals were divided anatomically into mouth (ḫa) and tail (ḫun). But Witzel¹⁹ has pointed out that ḫa is to be translated sluice or lock. On our tablets ḫa appears in the following contexts as the destination of shiploads of grain from Umma ; and for a species of wood ; as the site of a storehouse whence grain was exported, and of a garden (on the Girsu canal) ; and, finally, male slaves, female slaves and ḫe-dur workers were employed at the canal lock at Umma and Lagash.²⁰

¹ Conteau : *H(istoire) E(conomique) d'U(mma)*, 5, 13 : 5, 46 ; *An. Or.* 1, 73 : 6.

² *An. Or.* 7, 184. ³ STD. 278. ⁴ *Ibid.* 31 : 5. ⁵ HEU. 38.

⁶ STD. 99 : 8. ⁷ ITT., III. 6431. ⁸ *Ibid.*, II. 851. ⁹ *Ibid.*, IV. 7909.

¹⁰ *Or.* 47-49, 474 : 3. ¹¹ ITT., III. 6431.

¹² *Ibid.*, IV. 7275 ; TU., 9, 117 : vii, xiv.

¹³ *Ibid.*, II. 766.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, II. 766 ; III. 5972 ; TU. 9.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, III. 6431.

¹⁶ *An. Or.*, I. 85 : 102.

¹⁷ ITT. III. 5972.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, Rev. 2.

¹⁹ KS. 1, 19, 5.

²⁰ *Umma*, 49, 53 ; BE. Series A, III. 1, no. 129 (cp. Bedale STU. 31) ; Harvard, 8002(unpublished) ; JR. 617, Lutz STR., pt. II. 21 ; ITT., III. 5972 ; V. 6989, 6983.

The word *kun*, literally "tail," occurs in three combinations :

(1) *kun id da*.—A Rylands tablet ¹ records 9 women workers, who receive 3/30 of a *gur* of grain (as wages), carrying grass from the barrier, or gate (of the lock) (?) (-en-gab-du-ta) to the *kun* of the river, and fill it up with earth (*saḥar si-ga*). Elsewhere,² it is recorded that 451 women work for a day at the *kun-nun-na* ; obviously a special sort of *kun* ; and again ³ that 16 men are engaged on the *kun* of the patesi's canal ; and finally, grain from the *kun* and the *giš-ma-nu* field.⁴

(2) *kun zi da*, of the canals Bur Sin, patesi, Namḥani, Sub-gibil, Ur ʔ-sig, ʔ-ma-ri-ki, Mara ⁵ of the *ka* of the canal Magurra, of Tiraš, Agisi, Dub. lal ⁶Babbar-su., Magan-ki ; ⁶ and lastly, *kunzida* unqualified.⁷ Everywhere there is talk of work done on the thing.

(3) *id kun*, alone ; *id-kun Nina-ki*, *id-kun-nagar*.⁸ This last occurs on a Rylands tablet which records : 113 labourers employed for one day at the canal of the *kun* of craftsmen (*nagar*).

To this class belongs the item *id-Še-tir kun-zi-da gi₄-a*.⁹ The literal meaning of *kun* is, as has been said, "tail," used appropriately of that part of a canal into which the water was received. Hence the accepted meaning "tank" or "reservoir," in which water was stored ; filled when the canal was at flood and later emptied by water vessels and watering machines. Such a meaning will suit *kun-id-da* and also *kun-zi-da id*, where *zi-da* may be translated "fixed," or "permanent" ; but perhaps where *kun-zi-da* is not said of a canal but of a town or district or building, it means the artificially constructed tank apart from the waterways, for the supply of the needs of town, etc. The third phrase *id-kun* is literally "canal of the basin" ; hence perhaps the watercourse formed by water drawn off from the reservoir into the fields. Where grain is mentioned in connection

¹ JR. 632. ² Or. 47-49, 208. ³ An. Or. 7, 184. ⁴ Or. 47-49, 184.

⁵ An. Or. 7, 213 ; *ibid.* 184 ; ITT. IV. 7909 ; STD. 278 ; An. Or. I, 44 : 16 ; *ibid.* 143 : 4 ; Chiera STA. 5, V : 10.

⁶ Chiera STA. ; 5, III ; ITT., II. 766 ; JR. 611 ; Chiera STA., 2, IV : 28 ; *ibid.* 132 ; An. Or., I. 44 : 16.

⁷ BE. Ser. A, III. 1, no. 84 : III.

⁸ Harvard, 6257 (unpublished), ITT., III. 5111 ; Chiera STA. 120, JR. 617.

⁹ An. Or. I, 193 : 6.

with the *kun*, there, probably, the reference is to the area of land in which the reservoir was situated.

An occasional glimpse at canal banks (*gu id*) is given ; of men at work there ; of the weaving industry on the banks of the canal that goes to Nina town ;¹ and the arrival of supplies of grain. Busy days at the wharf (*kar*) are hinted at where the records tell of slaves, male and female, carrying grain from or to the wharf, and of the construction of the wharf of Ninni Erin town,² and work at the wharf of Umma.³ It is interesting that the word for wharf, *kar*, also means tariff ; possibly as token to be paid at the quai ; some kind of dock or port charges.

A phrase of uncertain meaning occurs on the Ur III tablets, and it may be useful to set down here the contexts in which the phrase occurs. The phrase is *a e-a*. The literal meaning, got by translating the phrase word for word, is easy enough : " water which goes out, or forth." Here are the various contexts :—

- (1) 127 bundles of reeds, *a-e-a*, the Girsu canal.
- (2) 5/145 bundles of reeds, *a-e-a*, the Silala canal.
- (3) 70 bundles of reeds, *a-e-a*, Suḫ-gibil dū-a-ka.
- (4) 39/42/36 women employed for one day, *a-e-a id du*.
- (5) 120 carriers, *a-e-a id* /// *du du-šù*.
- (6) 76 women weavers (receiving) 3/30 (gur of grain) for one day, *a-e-a ka-tar* ^a*Nin-har-sag-ka*, present at its new bank (*gu-gibil-na gub-ba*).
- (7) 6 men at work for one day *a-e-a en-gab-du*.
- (8) 70 *giš il*, *a-e-a*, *a-ša gir nun-šù*.
- (9) 10 women employed for one day, *a-e-a kun-zi-da sa uru lum ma ù kun-ši-da id usar gub-ba*. (*usar* is a fence or the like and is used with field words *a-ša* and *gan*.)⁴

It is not certain what precisely *a-e-a* means but there are two positive indications. The first is a text from the Agade

¹ ITT., II. 702. (Further general refs. to *gu-id* are included in the refs. to canal names, above, and on *Or.* 47-49, 189 : 3 ; 371 : 5 ; *An. Or.*, I. 50 : 11 ; ITT., II. 776.)

² *Ibid.*, II. 3390. (For general refs. to *kar* see canal names, and JR. 756 ; *An. Or.* I, 250 : 44 ; *An. Or.* 7, 284 : 12, 314 ; Chiera STA. 2, V : 4.)

³ JR. 618, 630.

⁴ In order of the quotations : (1) Umma, 54 ; (2) Umma, 65, 59 ; (3) Umma, 65 ; (4) *An. Or.* 7, 297 : 7-11 ; (5) ITT., V. 6890 ; (6) *Or.* 47-49, 361 ; (7) *An. Or.* I, 269 ; (8) ITT., V. 6985 ; (9) ITT., V. 8235.

period¹ which reads “*a-e-a gi-zi-ta Da-rig uh-ga-šù*”; i.e. “from the reed—*a-e-a* to D. is 784 *gar-du*” (a measure of about 6 metres). The second is that in the Ur tablets just quoted reeds are mentioned on half of them. We may therefore plausibly suggest that the *a-e-a* is a streamlet formed by “water flowing out” from canals whose banks have fallen in through neglect or flood. Hereabouts would be favourable place for reed-beds which supplied raw material for all kinds of construction work in the towns.

Another word which may usefully be considered in this article is *nag-tar*. The word occurs in connection with (i) canals: *nag-tar id Sila-la-ki*; *nag-tar id* ^a*Šara-he-gal-ka*; ² (ii) *ki-gam-ma*, *dul-*^a*Šara*, and *dub-lal* ^a*Babbar*; ³ (iii) *sahar* (earth), e.g. 15 men employed at the *nag-tar* of the *Šarahegal* canal, filling up with earth (*sahar si-ga*).”⁴ Other references are not helpful to our purpose.

One text⁵ gives the dimensions of a *nag-tar* as follow:—

12 *gar* long, 12 *gar* wide, $\frac{1}{2}$ *gar* deep, its earth 2 *gan* 40 *sar* first *nag-tar*.

7 *gar* long, 2 *gar* wide, $\frac{1}{2}$ *gar* deep, its earth 84 *sar* second *nag-tar*.

A *gar* is almost 6 metres; a *gan* is about 2528 square metres and a *sar* is $25\frac{1}{4}$ square metres. So that the tablet gives us first the dimensions of the two *nag-tar*; the first, about 70 metres in length, about 70 wide and nearly 3 metres deep; the second about 40 metres long, 10 metres wide, and 40 metres deep. The amount of earth quoted is probably the amount of earth displaced in construction. In all this there is nothing opposed to the suggested translation “pond” but the general meaning of the word *nag* is “to drink,” and it may be that the *nag-tar* was reserved for drinking-water.

It is regrettable that the Sumerians have not left us details of the work of irrigation. We hear of men and women employed on canals but the work is not described. We know only that

¹ ITT., I. 1175.

² *An. Or.*, I. 142 : 2, and *Or.* 47-49, 151 : 2; Lutz STR., pt. I, 8 : 4.

³ *Ibid.*, 193 : 2, 193 : 4; JR. 617 : 4.

⁴ Lutz. STR., I. 8 : 4; cp. *Or.* 47-49, 289, 458 : 5.

⁵ *Or.* 47-49, 511 : 10.

the work (*kin*)¹ was done, and that they had the men and the machines and the intelligence necessary. They dug (*dù*), they dredged (*bal*), they irrigated (*a-dé-a*), they dammed (?) (*š^vu-ùr-ra*). Their methods are not recorded on Ur III tablets.

Nothing has been said of the two sorts of canal known as *e* and *pap*.² The references, which are not numerous on Ur III tablets, are listed below.

Of the canal in religion we have but one record in this period.³ It is from Drehem and records that the sacred mouth (*ka dug-ga*) and the sacred "tail" (*kin dug-ga*) of the canal received offerings.

¹ *kin* TU. 9R; ITT., II. 4456; BE. Ser. A, III. 1, 84: III. 50. *du* ITT., II. 766; *bal* ITT., III. 5111; *Or.* 47-49, 211: 3; *An. Or.* 7, 231: 2. STA. 162; STD. 223; *a-de-a* HEU. 68 . . . , ^v*š^vu-ur-ra*. ITT., II. 766, III. 5972; Lutz, STR., pt. 2, 91: 1-3; Chiera STA. 5. IV: 9, 14; 2, IV: 12-14; *An. Or.*, I. 213: 4; *An. Or.* 7, 190: 3; *Or.* 47-49, 182: 4, 183: 3.

² *e* *Or.* 47-49, 364: 11, 250: 3; *pap*. Langdon: *Archives of Drehem*, 12; *An. Or.* 7, 199: 2, 201: 2, 231: 2, 322.

³ Langdon: *Archives of Drehem*, 49: 11.

LETTERS ADDRESSED TO MRS. GASKELL BY CELEBRATED CONTEMPORARIES.

NOW IN THE POSSESSION OF THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY.

EDITED BY ROSS D. WALLER, M.A.

LECTURER IN ENGLISH LITERATURE IN THE UNIVERSITY OF MANCHESTER.

IT is well known to students of Mrs. Gaskell's work that the bitter and distressing controversies that followed upon the appearance of her *Life of Charlotte Brontë* very naturally made her wish to avoid the possibility of consequences so unpleasant in her own case. She desired that no assistance should be given to anyone wishing to write a biography. Faithful to their mother's wishes, her daughters throughout their long lives withheld such material as they possessed, only occasionally allowing glimpses of it to respected visitors, friends, and correspondents. But it is not easy to circumvent the curiosity of the literary world, even less the diligence of modern book-making. In several books¹ and a host of magazine articles Mrs. Gaskell's life, her home, her friendships, her holidays, have for some time lain open to the world; and indeed it was a life so dignified and simple, so lacking in elements of the strange and challenging, that it could not at any time have been likely that even the fullest account of it could have had repercussions such as those that filled the air after her story of the Haworth

¹ Mrs. E. H. Chadwick, *Mrs. G. : Haunts, Homes, and Stories*, London, 1913; J. J. van Dullmen, *Mrs. G. : Novelist and Biographer*, Amsterdam, 1924; A. S. Whitfield, *Mrs. G. : Her Life and Work*, London, 1929; G. D. Saunders, *Elizabeth Gaskell*, Yale and London, 1929 (with exhaustive bibliog. by C. S. Northup); Elizabeth Haldane, *Mrs. G. and her Friends*, London, 1930. See also *Letters of Mrs. G. and C. E. Norton*, ed. Jane Whitehill, London, 1932.

sisters. Meanwhile the biographers have done their best, drawing upon scattered sources, succeeding no doubt in stating all that the world really needs to know, but leaving not only gaps and disconnections for their successors to remedy, but also the question whether there might be something more to say. If the fullest access to material had been granted to some trusted and capable biographer at an early date, no doubt a fully adequate *Life* would have been produced long ago. While the best of Mrs. Gaskell's work is an imperishable part of our literature, her life is not a subject of inexhaustible interest ; it is a pity that it has had to be written piecemeal.

Recently a collection of letters addressed to Mrs. Gaskell by a considerable number of Victorian celebrities, together with the collection of autographs she so diligently solicited from friends, have been deposited in the John Rylands Library by the executors of her last surviving daughter.¹ It seems likely that at least the late Sir A. W. Ward was allowed to see this collection, since he quotes from several of the letters in the introductions to his Knutsford edition of the novels. At least three of them have been published in memoirs of their writers. There remain a considerable number which as far as I have been able to discover have never been published. None of them is of any great importance in any connection ; some are totally uninteresting business or social communications, invitations to dine and regrets at not being able to do so, and so on. The rest are interesting in various degrees as representative of their writers ; and one makes it possible to identify (though not with complete certainty) a hitherto unrecognised magazine article written by Mrs. Gaskell in 1847. The collection as a whole, while on the one hand it displays the great variety of Mrs. Gaskell's friends and well-wishers, and the general respect in

¹ I wish to thank the Librarian and the Keeper of Manuscripts for their courtesy and valuable assistance. The Gaskell MSS. are in four divisions : *Letters to E. C. and W. Gaskell*, 2 vols. ; *Miscellaneous Letters*, 3 vols. ; letters from W. S. Landor ; letters from Dickens. This article uses the first and the third, draws a few letters from the second, and does not touch the fourth. The *Miscellaneous Letters* have several interesting items (letters by Lamb and Coleridge among others) but most of them are of little interest. A considerable group were addressed to Edward Coleridge at Eton.

which she was held by her contemporaries, obliges one to recognise on the other that a temperament and outlook such as hers, however gracious and noble, does not stimulate its correspondents to the most spontaneous self-expression.

I. *MARY BARTON* : WILLIAM AND MARY HOWITT, SAMUEL BAMFORD, MARIA EDGEWORTH, CARLYLE, MRS. CARLYLE.

The letters do not fall into any obvious groups, and are presented here in a somewhat arbitrary arrangement. We may begin with some which are directly concerned with *Mary Barton*, Mrs. Gaskell's first novel (1848). That famous tale of Manchester life, undertaken to distract her mind after the loss of her son, was guided into the world of print by William and Mary Howitt.¹ Mrs. Gaskell had known these two industrious writers since 1838, had contributed to one of their books, and had become personally acquainted with them in the course of a Rhine tour in 1841. In January, 1847, they set up *Howitt's Journal*, carrying it on through three volumes until 1849; and there three little tales with which we shall be concerned later appeared in 1847 and 1848. According to Mary Howitt the first volume of *Mary Barton* was sent in manuscript to her husband who urged Mrs. Gaskell to proceed with it. When finished it went the rounds of many publishers until at last it came into the hands of Chapman & Hall. John Forster read it for that firm and recommended it for acceptance;² whereupon Howitt seems to have undertaken the business arrangements for the author. He writes to her from 107 Strand, London, on 17 November, 1847:

It gives us great satisfaction that you are so much pleased with the arrangement regarding your work. I shall take great care that Messrs Chapman and Hall do not imagine that you would have been satisfied with less. Of course, I took the proposal quite coolly and as a matter of business.

What is to be done in drawing the agreement? It should be done in your own name, and in that case it must be confided to them in strict

¹ For Mrs. G.'s relations with them, see Mary Howitt's *Autobiog.*, 1889, ii, 28; Margaret Howitt in *Good Words*, 1895, p. 604 ff.; *Mary Barton*, p. xxi.

² Mrs. G. afterwards met Forster at one of Rogers's breakfast parties. He offered to send her an examination of all the book's weaknesses, if she could bear it. (M. S. Shaen, *Memorials of Two Sisters*, 1908, p. 39.)

confidence. If you have any objection to that we must see whether they will be satisfied to have it made in the name of Cotton Mather Mills.

But it seems to me that as you will write (I trust many) other works, it would be as well for them to be known as the works of a lady. I think they would be more popular; and in that case the question still arises what will you do? Pray let me know.

The letter goes on then to thank Mr. Gaskell for his zealous championship of the Howitts even at "the darkest hour," and relates at some length the story of their recent disasters. They were caused by the sharp practice of a certain Saunders, manager of *The People's Journal*, which came to grief in 1847 and in which Howitt was part-owner. He seems to have stolen their money and calumniated them in *The Anti-Slavery Standard*. *Howitt's Journal* contains indignant complaints and letters from correspondents about this affair in the numbers for November, 1847, and January, 1848, but poor Howitt's misfortunes, bitter and scandalous as they then were, are not interesting enough to detain us now.

At the end of the letter comes, as an after-remark, "The impressions made by Emerson's lectures would be very acceptable. We have nothing seen nothing of the kind yet." Now this does not say expressly that Mrs. Gaskell had offered to write any such impressions herself, but one may naturally make the inference. Emerson arrived in Manchester, 20 October, 1847, and resided there some months, delivering his lectures on Representative Men and professing himself well pleased with his reception.¹ In *Howitt's Journal* for 11 December, 1847, there is a drawing of him, followed by an article of nearly three columns called "Emerson's Lectures. From our Manchester correspondent." It seems very likely that this ought to be added henceforward to the Gaskell bibliographies. However the two Miss Winkworths were at this time becoming intimate with the Gaskells, and studying English literature under Mr. Gaskell's tuition. They both attended Emerson's lectures,² and one of

¹ In the collection of *Miscellaneous Letters* there is an undated note from Emerson, written at Higher Broughton, apparently to a member of the Shuttleworth family. These lectures were at the Athenæum, but he gave a series of simpler lectures at the Mechanics' Institution at the same time, according to the article in *Howitt's Journal*.

² *M. of 2 S.*, p. 23.

them might have written the impressions about which Mrs. Gaskell wrote to Howitt. But I think this on the whole unlikely.

There is also a letter dated 20 October, 1849, from Mary Howitt, mutilated at the end by some autograph collector. This too may lead us to a lost piece of Mrs. Gaskell's early work. It passes on a request for an article from the editor of *Sartain's Union Magazine*.¹ It is wanted for the January number (1850). Meanwhile the editor has sent Mary Howitt payment for an earlier article of Mrs. Gaskell's, £4 for four pages of print. I have not identified this article, but it should not be difficult to do so.

The success of *Mary Barton* brought its author at once into contact with many outstanding figures of the day, and not only in the field of literature. There is no need here to recall the names of all those who joined in the chorus of appreciation. Few of them in any case could have been so well qualified to estimate the truth of Mrs. Gaskell's picture of Manchester working-class life as that local celebrity Samuel Bamford, author of *Passages from the Life of a Radical*, "a man who illustrates his order and shows what nobility may be in a cottage." His *God help the Poor*, is quoted in the book, with the foregoing description as a footnote.² Sir A. W. Ward has already referred to this letter,³ but it may be worth while to print it here in full:—

TO THE AUTHORESS OF "MARY BARTON."

Blakeley. Mar. 9th, 1849.

Dear Madam,

I finished reading *Mary Barton* last night, my feelings having become so interested in the narrative that I could not lay the book down until I had read to the end.

You have drawn a fearfully true picture: a mournfully beautiful one also have you placed on the tables of the drawing rooms of the great, and

¹ See F. L. Mott's *Hist. of Amer. Magazines* pp., 769-72.

² Chap. ix., p. 125. (Knutsford Edition, from which all page-references to the novels in this article are taken.)

³ *Mary Barton*, p. lix. Parts of it have been quoted also by other writers, as is the case with certain other letters relating to *Mary Barton* and here given in full. Ward probably quoted from the autograph letters; later writers, when not drawing upon Ward, may possibly have used some printed article on *Mary Barton*. I have tried to discover their source, without success; none of them supply a reference. See pp. 3, 108, 118, 162, 165.

good it must there effect ; good for themselves, and good also I hope for the poor of every occupation.

You are a genius, of no ordinary rank ; I care not what the critics say, nor will I flatter you, if I know it, but truth, such as it appears to me will I dare to express, with whomsoever I may differ about it. It seems to me that you have begun a great work and I do hope you will not be discouraged from going on with it. You have opened and adventured into a noble apartment of a fine old dwelling house and on one of the English oaken pannels [sic] you have worked a picture from which the eyes cannot be averted nor the hearts best feelings withdrawn. A sorrowfully beautiful production it is, few being able to contemplate it with tearless eyes—I could not, I know.

Go on dear Madam, and fill all the other panels with the production of your strong but correct imagination, and the effusions of your right noble womanly heart, much remains yet to be done, and may God give you life and courage to finish what you have begun. Sorrow, it seems, has revealed to yourself and the world, the secret of your powerful mind, and the force and truth of your benign feeling. A noble gift have you discovered ; a blessed, humanizing thing is sorrow. Let us be thankful for our afflictions, for, ' whomsoever HE chasteneth, those he loveth.'

Some errors may certainly be detected in the details of your work, but the wonder is that they are so few in number and so trifling in effect. The dialect I think might, have been given better, and some few incidents set forth with greater effect, but in describing the dwellings of the poor, their manners, their kindness to each other, their feelings towards their superiors in wealth and station their faults, their literary tastes, and their scientific pursuits, as old Job Legh for example, you have been very faithful ; of John Bartons, I have known hundreds, his very self in all things except his fatal crime, whilst of his daughter Mary, who has ever seen a group of our Lancashire factory girls or dress makers either, and could not have counted Mary ? Nor is Jem Wilson, and I [am] proud to say it, a solitary character in the young fellows of our working population, noble as he is, but my heart fills as I write, and I cannot go on.

Dear Madam, Give us some more of your true and touching pictures, and meantime believe me to be your obliged, Humble, and most respectful Servant.

Saml. Bamford.

Bamford's praise must have been highly gratifying to a writer whose aims were so humanitarian as Mrs. Gaskell's. Hardly less gratifying to her as a literary artist must have been the long letter about her book written by a revered and long established writer, Maria Edgeworth, less than half a year before her death. The letter was addressed to Mrs. Gaskell's cousin, Miss Mary

Holland, and was no doubt soon handed over by her to the person most interested in it.¹

Edgeworthstown.

Dec^r. 27th, 1848.

My dear Miss Holland—

You delighted your father by reading to him *Mary Barton* and I have been delighted by hearing it read by my sister Harriet Butler—I am persuaded that you both of you and the *author* into the bargain would have been happy to have been of the party—

In the first place as I have said *Author* I must tell you that I mean *author* to stand for male or female just as the case may be—But I opine that it is a *she*—From the great abilities—and from the power of drawing *from* the life and *to* the life so as to give the impression and strong interest of reality I should have attributed the book to Miss Martineau—especially as the tale shews such intimate knowledge of manufacturing miseries and of all those small details which can be obtained only from personal observation and which can be selected so as to produce great effect, only by the union of quiet feeling with cool discriminating judgement.

But in the Preface the writer says that she is ‘no political economist’—I do not think Miss Martineau would be guilty of such a gratuitous and useless falsehood. There fell my supposition that Miss Martineau did write this story. But she need not be affronted but would I think be gratified by having it attributed to her—

The description of the coming on of deafness and of the evils or sense of privation felt by the deaf struck me particularly as being worthy of Miss Martineau’s personal narrative—the coming on of blindness too is most beautifully described !—

In truth there is no bodily or mental evil to which flesh is heir which this *author* cannot describe most feelingly—The evils consequent upon over manufacturing or over population or both conjoined and acting as cause and effect—the misery and the hateful passions engendered by the love of gain and the accumulation of riches, and the selfishness and want of thought and want of feeling in master manufacturers are most admirably described and the consequences produced on the inferior class of employed or unemployed workmen are most ably shewn in action—There is great discretion in the drawing the characters of the Carson family—in not exaggerating—Jem—is a delightful noble creature and not over colored. John Barton too is admirably kept up from 1st to last—and Mary herself is charming—from not being too perfect—The mother of Jem (Mrs. Wilson) is, we think, the *best* drawn character in the book—tho that is a bold word

¹ It is among the *Miscellaneous Letters*, vol. i. Miss Edgeworth wrote in somewhat similar terms to Mme. Belloc ; see *M.B.*, p. lix. The present letter is among those referred to in p. 106, n. 3.

where there are so many incomparables—Sally is very well drawn with redeeming good nature in the midst of her vanity and selfishness—Here are no such faultless nor any such vicious monsters as the world ne'er saw—But all such as have been seen and are recognised by all who have thought and by all who can feel—all who can look inwardly at their own minds or outwardly at the world we live in—

The story is ingenious and interesting—The heroine is in a new and good difficulty between her guilty father and her innocent noble lover—It is a situation fit for the highest Greek Tragedy yet not unsuited to the humblest life of a poor tender girl—heroism, as well as, love in a cottage—Her declaration of her love before the whole court in the trial is charming though useless to the lover so much the better for the truth of the drawing of the passion and the character—

I am sorry that she and her lover emigrate—I think the poetic justice and moral of the story would have been better and as naturally made out by Jems *good character* standing against the prejudice suspicion or envy of his fellow workmen as I really believe it would have done—and it would more shew the effect of good conduct in workmen and inspire hope for the future better without its being improbable that the noble conduct of Jem should have made such impression on the rich man and the master manufacturers that they took the case of the workmen for his sake into consideration—This would have been the finest reward and w^d have left not only an agreeable but beneficial feeling on the mind—

Rousseau says Judge of a book by the impression left on your mind when you lay it down.

I am not sure that this is quite just—but it has sense and justice in it—

I would not leave the reader in Despair—Despair never produced *Virtue* or the *energy of Virtue*. There must be hope for *that*.

The fault of this book is that it leaves such a melancholy I almost feel hopeless impression. When the box of evils was opened Hope sh^d have been left sticking to the lid.

It is all too true
But what can we do
What can be done—

It is in fact difficult to say—for we cannot make a new division and equal distribution of wealth without *revolution* and even if we could do this without revolution and injustice to the present possessors of what permanent avail c^d it be? Wealth must immediately and incessantly tend to reaccumulate unless the efforts of INDUSTRY and its wages are stopped and this stoppage c^d not increase human happiness. There must then be rich and poor—Laborer[s] and Masters. All that can be done is to prevent the labourers from being made slaves and to deter the masters from becoming tyrants—Such a powerful writer as the author of *Mary Barton* could tend to this beneficial purpose by his pathetic representations and appeals to the

feelings of pity and remorse—But I doubt whether this has been effected by the present tale—*Emigration* is the only resource pointed out at the end of this work, and this is only an escape from the evils not a remedy nor any tendency to reparation or improvement.—

We are haunted by the spectres of misery which have been raised to our view and we cannot lay them—We are in a worse condition than the man who was haunted by him who came continually to the side of the bed crying

‘Give me back my golden leg.’

The cry from these spectres is worse ‘Give me a leg to stand upon ! or I’ll cut off both yours’ and the only answer is

‘I cannot give you legs without cutting off my own.’

—My dear Mary Holland if you are acquainted with the author of *Mary Barton* as I suspect you are please to tell him or her as the case may be, as much or as little of the foregoing sense or nonsense as you see fit—or as can do any good—For the past work no use criticism but for the future there may be use—Such a writer cannot but write again and cannot but be candid and will *rejudge* the criticism and the book and profit by the re-judgement—at all events.

—I should add that I *feel* that there are too many deaths in the book—Death is an evil common to all and not a peculiar moral punishment and the mere contemplation of the difference between the death bed *hour* of the bad and the good is not according to my view a sufficient motive for the survivors—to make it advisable for a good moral writer to have recourse to this source of pathos.—hacknied too and worn to nought.

I may as well empty my mind of all the objections I *can* make that the author may the more believe in the perfect sincerity of my admiration—I have not given half the praise I could and that I did give as I heard the *Work* read—But upon reflexion a word or two more of blame occur—

I think or rather I *feel*—that not only there are too many deaths but too many living creatures in this book—The readers sympathy is too much divided—cannot flit as fast as called upon from one to another without being weakened. The more forcible the calls and the objects of pity the more the feelings are harassed and in danger of being exhausted

—I think that some of the miseries might be left out—For instance *Esther* who is no good and does no good to Mary or to anybody else—nor to the story—she might be and may be in every town in the Empire as well as at Manchester. Her faults are not the results of manufacturing wrongs from masters or evils of men—The circumstance of the husband in his rage pulling down the nail on wh^h her bonnet hung is admirable and should not upon any account be omitted—I have heard it wished that the character of *Alice* should be expunged. But this is not my wish or feeling on the contrary this character does not increase the sum of painful or despairing feeling—But adds to the hopeful and salutary—because in spite of all

external misfortunes she is happy through life and happy in death from her internal resources of benevolence and energetic virtue.

And I can believe in the existence and operation of such virtue—not too good for everyday life—though I never had the luck to meet with like—

Now I have done—and I only *hope* that I may not have added to the deaths by tiring you to death. I pray you to tell me who wrote *Mary Barton* and I will add no more—But all well here and *there* meaning at Clewer Windsor where Rosa and Willy still are and Mariquita[?] better.

I am with kindest wishes of this season and all seasons for your father and you : my dear Mary Holland,

Yours affectionately,

Maria Edgeworth.

I have Helen Charteris ¹ 'from the author' (whom I do not know personally)—but I have not yet read it or Macauley ² [*sic*].

Mary Barton was anonymous,³ but no practised eye could fail to detect the feminine colouring of the tale in its pathetic effects, its loving and detailed descriptions of old women, the upstanding masculine worth of Jem Wilson, and so on. Maria Edgeworth had been sure of this, and so also was Carlyle in the enthusiastic letter of thanks, encouragement, and advice which he sent on 8 November, 1848. This letter, often referred to, has been quoted at length by Miss Haldane.⁴ Although at that time Mrs. Gaskell had not yet met the Carlyles, she was soon to do so, and was subsequently visited by them both in Manchester. Caroline Jewsbury, the novelist, Mrs. Carlyle's closest friend, must have been a link between them ; for she also lived in Manchester, and it was from her house that Mrs. Carlyle wrote to her husband, 12 September, 1851 : " Mrs. Gaskell took Geraldine and me a beautiful drive the other day in a ' friend's carriage.' She is a very kind cheery woman in her own house ; but there is an atmosphere of moral dulness about her, as about all Socinian

¹ London, 1848, anonymous. The author was Mrs. Harriet Ward.

² The first and second vols. of his *History* appeared in 1848 ; after reading it she wrote a long letter, full of discriminating enthusiasm, to Sir Henry Holland, 2 April, 1849 (quoted at length in Helen Zimmern's *Maria Edgeworth*, 1883, p. 214 ff.)—On 2 February, 1849, Miss Edgeworth sent *Mary Barton* on to Mme. Belloc, with a letter in which her opinions on that book are again, though more succinctly, stated. (See E. D. Forgues's French version of *Cousin Phyllis*, etc., with introduction by Mme. Louise Sw. Belloc, 1867, p. 9.)

³ Not, as Miss Haldane says, published under the pseudonym of Cotton Mather Mills. For this see later, p. 126, n. 2.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, pp. 47-8.

women.—I am thinking whether it would not be expedient, however, to ask her to give you a bed when you come. She would be ‘proud and happy’ I guess; and you do not wish to sleep at Geraldine’s,¹—besides that, mine is the only spare room furnished. The Gaskell house is very large, and in the midst of a shrubbery and quite near this.”² I do not know whether on this occasion Carlyle accepted his wife’s cheerful and uncomplimentary offer of “the Gaskell house” as a hotel. Quite possibly the following undated letter may refer to the visit—since he was to be delivered at so late an hour as ten, he was more likely to have come for “a bed” than to pay a visit of courtesy.

My dear Mrs Gaskell

I was going over myself to tell you that Mr C shall be *delivered* at your door tonight about ten—as I calculate, barring accidents—but Geraldine won’t let me for fear of laying myself up again. I have had a quite severe bout of cold, and feel now that the fever has gone, as if I had just returned from the thirty years war—so wearied and dilapidated.

—I shall see you tomorrow morning however before we start for Alderley—

Yours affectionately

Jane Carlyle.

Another letter from the same lively correspondent, also undated, probably belongs to a slightly earlier period, when *Mary Barton* was still a recent event.

5 Cheyne Row
Friday

My dear Mrs Gaskell

Being one of the most punctual women of *Business* (!) I must write two lines—in the teeth of *Force of Circumstances* to certify you of the safe arrival of *the Order*—I am quite sorry *now*, that I wrote about it—but I had taken it into my head some shopman had intercepted it, and that there was need of *immediate* enquiry. Virtue however (and I know no greater virtue than making oneself troublesome and disagreeable from a sense of duty) being ever ‘its own reward’ unless—as John Mills Tragedian³ wrote ‘unless something very particular occur to prevent it,’ so *my* virtue in the present instance has been rewarded in the shape of a nice long letter from you which I should not otherwise have had—

¹ “That ill-natured old maid,” he called her.

² *New Letters and Memorials of Jane W. Carlyle*, 1903, ii. 29.

³ This must be the tragic actor who died 1736.

For the rest I have new occasion to admire the fine quiet philosophy contained in those lines of some poetic Countryman of mine

' Simon Brodie had a cow
The cow was lost, and he couldna find her,
When he had done what man could do
The Cow *cam hame* and her tail behind her.'

But I am obliged to be off—to Richmond in a series of Omnibuses—and I have to *blow up* the Butcher besides—and the *Dyer* ! and a man who is covering me an easy chair !—a great deal of blowing up in fact to be executed this fine frosty morning.

And—I ought also if I can keep my promise to take—*Mary Barton* to a Literary maidservant whom I visit at St. George's Hospital.

So under this pressure of astonishing work excuse brevity and illegibility.

Love—oh dear no it was *affection*—*Affection* then and respect to Mr Gaskell and a kiss to Meta and ditto to yourself dear Woman

Jane Carlyle.

II. LORD SHAFTESBURY, COBDEN, G. F. WATTS, TOM TAYLOR, FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE, F. PERRONET THOMPSON, JOHN FORSTER AND *THE MANCHESTER GUARDIAN*.

In the preface to *Mary Barton* Mrs. Gaskell had disclaimed any special knowledge of political economy, but nevertheless the subject of the book, the activities of her husband and herself in Manchester, and her constant interest in public affairs especially as they affected the lives of the struggling poor, ensured for her the respect of radical politicians and social reformers. Ashley Cooper, afterwards Lord Shaftesbury, writes to Madame Bunsen, 8 May, 1849, "Your kind invitation was not put into my hands until my return home late yesterday evening. It would have given me great pleasure to meet the Authoress of *Mary Barton*—she must be a first-rate woman."¹

Other well-known names in this field, represented in the correspondence by letters of little interest, are Brougham, Bright, W. B. Carpenter, Lord Lansdowne, A. Somerville, Sydney Herbert, and Chadwick, the sanitary reformer, who writes 3 October, 1851, offering to show her friend the Swedish novelist,

¹ In *Miscellaneous Letters*, vol. i.; Mrs. G. had met Baron Bunsen at the Schwabes that year, and through him made many other friends; see Chadwick, p. 172.

Fredrika Bremer, round the new model houses in London, and sending a copy of Grainger's report on the origin and spread of cholera.

There are several letters from Richard Cobden, whose local interests had no doubt made him known to the Gaskells long before *Mary Barton* was written. The first of them is on a subject raised elsewhere in the correspondence and which may be disposed of at this point. Thomas Wright, "the prison philanthropist," was a frequent visitor at the Gaskells about 1848. He was a foreman in an iron foundry. When his highly successful spare-time work in connection with the Manchester prisons had made him famous, he was offered an inspectorship of prisons at a salary of £800 a year; he declined it because, he said, it would diminish his influence. His admirers, however, could not let him suffer thus from the consequences of his own nobility, and they collected a sum of no less than £3248 (including £100 from the Royal Bounty). This was presented to Wright in 1852. In the meantime another sort of memorial had been mooted. G. F. Watts, at that time a young painter whose fame was all before him, having read an account of Wright in *Chambers's Journal*, conceived the idea of painting his well-known *Good Samaritan* to commemorate the man and his work. Whether it was originally his purpose to present this picture to Wright's native town is not very clear; but at some point he seems to have mentioned such an intention to Tom Taylor, the dramatist and writer for *Punch*, who was also a friend of Mrs. Gaskell's.¹ It seems to have been felt that Watts could not well afford to give away the results of so much labour, and consequently the first efforts to collect money were meant to pay for the picture. Cobden writes to Mrs. Gaskell, 9 February, 1850:—

London 9 Feby 1850

My dear Mrs Gaskell

I hope you will not think me neglectful in not having before replied to the letter which you did me the honor to send me upon the subject

¹ See *M. of 2 S.*, p. 40; also Haldane, p. 236, where there is a letter from Mrs. G. to "Tottie" Fox. She has heard of the picture from Taylor and surprisingly asks, "Who is this Watts?" She has got several people interested, including the Bishop of Manchester; Cobden is coming at the week-end, "I want to work him up."

of the painting of the 'Good Samaritan'—My first suggestion to Mrs. Schwabe on reading your note was that to identify the picture with Mr. Wrights philanthropic mission it ought to contain his portrait—This I suppose is not possible—Without this I do not see exactly how it can be identified with his proceedings in Manchester—Further however let me add my candid doubts whether his character be sufficiently known and appreciated by the wealthy inhabitants of your city to ensure the purchase of a large historical picture to be placed as a tribute to his virtues in one of your public buildings—To one so profoundly acquainted with human nature as yourself, and especially the human nature immediately surrounding you—I need not say how completely the words 'a prophet is not without honour etc.' apply to a man of Mr. Wrights humble sphere of action in Manchester—I mention this in all candor and confidence hoping I may be mistaken.—I will endeavour to accompany Mrs Schwabe at the beginning of the week to see the picture, and at all events will let you know through her my opinion of it, which after all is not worth much, as I am not a connoisseur—Again hoping you will excuse my delay in writing

Believe me

ever faithfully yours

Rhd Cobden

My kind remembrances to Mr Gaskell.

Meanwhile Mrs. Gaskell seems to have found some way of making Wright known personally to Watts, for on 1 July, 1850,¹ the painter writes to her as follows :—

30 Charles St

Berkeley Square

I return you my dear Madam my sincere thanks for the pleasure and the honour you have done me in making me acquainted with Mr Wright. Such noble natures are indeed rare, and proud should I feel in devoting my trifling talent, and the little time I think remains to me,² to the object of making known to the world its real but too often neglected riches, I cannot say how much I have been gratified at finding my poor expression of admiration has given pleasure to so good a man, and to his worthy friends and auxiliaries in his heroic undertakings ; to him and to those friends of humanity I beg to express my unqualified admiration.

I remain my dear Madam

Yours sincerely and much obliged

G. F. Watts

¹ The month is obscure, and may possibly be *Feb'y*.

² In the early months of 1850 he had nervous fever, threatening paralysis (M. S. Watts, *G. F. Watts*, 1912, i. 125).

In spite of Cobden's misgivings, Tom Taylor persevered in the collection of subscriptions, in the intervals of a very busy life. He was a barrister on the northern circuit at the time.

Board of Health

Gwydyr House

Thursday April 19 [1850]

Dear Mrs Gaskell

What have you set me down for? the *leichtsinnigst*, the most feather-headed, or the most forgetful of men?

Of course you will have long ago concluded that I had forgotten all about the Manchester Samaritan and Watts' picture and the proposed subscription. Not so I assure you. But in the midst of the first agitation of the thing, here, came Circuit—and I was forced to give it all up, and London agitations of it, to rush off Northwards, to briefs and waiting for briefs.

It was impossible to act in the affair during the movements and distractions of Circuit and I postponed it till my return, hoping, meanwhile, to get over from Liverpool to see you at Manchester. But Fate has fixed it otherwise. While at York I had offered to me the Assistant Secretaryship of the Board of Health. They wanted a lawyer for the work and offered me £500 a year to begin with¹—The nature of the work pleased me and after some debate, I accepted—and here I am, installed and hard at work—now in my third week—with all the anxieties and over-zeal of a new broom, and having been so much taken up in getting some familiarity with the office and its duties that I have just now found time to sit down and ease my conscience and heart by a letter to you.

I am now ready to resume the matter. The picture will, I hope, be exhibited in the approaching Academy exhibition, and I propose, if you approve, to take up my broken thread of subscriptions and solicitations, where I dropped it. I have already about £10 down, from three or four applications—among them

Mr Justice Earle (a noble person)
the writers and artists to Punch £5

Mrs. Norton
Lady Dufferin

Lady Gordon and Sir Alexander Duff Gordon—

Did the Bishop² see the picture and Mr. Watts—and what was his impression?

I read Dickens' Household Words—and I think I recognise a certain hand in a sweet story called Lizzy Leigh?—Am I right—or if I am, is it a secret?³

¹ In 1854 he became Secretary with £1000 a year. ² See p. 114, n. 1.

³ He was right, although the story sometimes passed as the work of Dickens. In *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, Vol. 1, 1850, when it was reprinted, it figures

My own work is constant and engrossing—We are applying the public Health Act to about 167 towns, but as yet Local Authorities know very little of either the extent of the duties imposed on them by the Bill, or the best way of setting about the fulfilment of them.

Do you, or does Mr Gaskell feel much interest in the matter and wd you or either of you, like to see the Reports and publications of the Board? I could send them. Write to me and say that you do not, now, believe me a faithless and worthless person and Believe me

Ever most truly yours

Tom Taylor

The picture was duly exhibited in the Royal Academy Exhibition, 1850. For some reason, however, the idea of buying the picture from Watts was not persisted in; perhaps he was unwilling to let them spoil his original generous impulse. All the money collected therefore was eventually presented to Wright in 1852, in which year, 24 March, we have a glimpse of Cobden helping to get the grant from the Royal Bounty:—

If the application on behalf of Mr. Wright be made to the present administration, it is quite as likely to prove successful as if it had been addressed to the former government.—I therefore hope his friends will persevere with the memorial.—I have spoken to Mr. Milner Gibson who will be glad to be made useful in accompanying a deputation to the minister. . . .

In the following month, May, 1852, Watts presented the picture to the Royal Manchester Institution,¹ as a testimony of his “high esteem for the exemplary and praiseworthy character” of Wright. And a few months later he was surprised by a sudden visit from Wright himself who gave him a thank-offering of half-a-dozen handkerchiefs.²

There is another letter from Watts many years later, when in the Index, p. iv., as “*Lizzie Leigh*. By Charles Dickens.” The mistake, no doubt, arose through its first chapter appearing as the first article in the first number of *Household Words*.

¹ It was transferred to the Manchester Corporation in 1882; and is now to be found in the Platt Hall Branch Gallery.

² For this matter of The Good Samaritan, see *M. of 2 S.*, p. 55; M. S. Watts, *op. cit.*, i. 130; *Life of T. Wright*, 1876, p. 73. There is also an account, inaccurate in some details but adding one or two facts, by W. E. A. Axon in *Manchester Guardian*, 30 September, 1910.

Mrs. Gaskell had written to ask if she might visit him. It is dated 25 June, 1863:—

Little Holland House

Dear Mrs. Gaskell

I beg you will consider yourself free of my Studio, come whenever you like, I can only feel flattered by your remembering my pictures and wishing to renew your acquaintance with them.

I shall be at home on Saturday before 12 and after 3 and on Sunday from 2 till 7 but whether I am at home or not you shall always be admitted. . . .

To return to Cobden—there are two other letters, one of little interest from Higher Broughton, and another from Midhurst, 21 March, 1853. It is addressed to Mrs. Schwabe. Ward, who quotes the blessing upon Mrs. Gaskell from it, does not mention the remark about unmarried females. Incredible as it now seems, Cobden's surmise was justified. *Ruth* was in its day considered dangerous enough even to have had a ceremonial burning.¹

My dear Mrs Schwabe

Your kind letter and the interesting accompaniment reached me just as I was preparing to leave Town for a few days.—I was much gratified with the perusal of Mr Taylers ² sermon.—There is in all his productions a clearness of diction, an acuteness of discrimination, and a genial tone of sentiment which gratify and *satisfy* both the head and the heart.—He seems full to overflowing with those qualities for which men of his profession have not been famous—I mean toleration and charity.

I read Mrs Gaskills [sic] *Ruth* before I left Town ;—and I blessed her, as I closed the book, for her courage and humanity.—It cannot be a successful *novel* ; for works of fiction are never so unless they be read by the *young* ; and ' *Ruth* ' will be considered dangerous company for unmarried females even in a book.—But the good and brave authoress knew all this when she wrote it, and therefore is there the greater merit due to her—

I am remaining here for a few days to imbibe a little of the South Down oxygen in my lungs.—But I am liable to be wanted at home towards the beginning of the next month, and as these matters are a little uncertain I shall return this day week.—With kind regards to Mr. Schwabe and all your circle I remain

Try yours,
R. Cobden.

¹ *Ruth*, p. xiv. There is a good account of the objections raised, in Haldane, p. 63.

² J. J. Tayler, Unitarian divine, and minister in Manchester 1821-53.

Among the unmarried females who did read *Ruth* and read it with the greatest admiration, was Florence Nightingale. Mrs. Gaskell seems to have got to know her in 1854, the year in which she went out to the Crimea. Shortly before she left the country Mrs. Gaskell had been staying with the Nightingale family at Lea Hurst, Matlock, and a long letter describing Florence Nightingale's character is on record in Miss Haldane's book.¹ While she was staying there she received the following note, written on the flap of a long envelope :—

My dear Madam

I have the consent of two, (Mrs. Booth and Lady Canning)—to Mrs. Glover's admission.—Intrigue carries the day. I now propose her on a day when Lady Cranworth is not present and when Mrs. Herbert to whom I have written to come, is.—Intrigue has it. Such is the history of benevolent Committees—Send me Mrs. Glover's papers filled up (herein enclosed) and I will make it a Government question and I do heartily hope, poor woman, we may do her some good.

Ever yours

F. Nightingale.

The context of this letter can easily be supplied from Sir É. T. Cook's *Life of Florence Nightingale*.² In 1854 she had taken up her first situation, as "Superintendent of an establishment for Gentlewomen during Illness." This institution was managed by a Council which appointed a ladies' and a gentlemen's committee. She found the gentlemen the more manageable, of course; the ladies were only amenable to cunning. Miss Nightingale's chief allies were Lady Canning and Lady Inglis, while Mrs. Herbert joined the committee with the special purpose of supporting her. Determined at the outset to avoid intrigue, she found she could do nothing without it. In a letter to Mrs. Mohl, on 20 August, she offers up a desperate prayer with which anybody who has attempted similar work will readily sympathise. "From Committees, Charity and Schism, and from the Church of England and all other deadly sin—from philanthropy and all the deceits of the Devil, Good Lord deliver us." When she left for the Crimea, on 21 October, she may well have thought she had undertaken a lighter task.

¹ Pp. 90 ff. Cf. *M. of 2 S.*, p. 122.

² 1913. See i. 133-5.

Soon the name of Florence Nightingale was known throughout the land. In 1856 many meetings were held to collect money for the Nightingale Fund: at Manchester, on 17 January, Lord Stanley, Sydney Herbert, and Monkton Milnes spoke at a public meeting in the Town Hall, and it is to this that Parthenope Nightingale,¹ Florence's sister, probably refers in an undated letter from Romsey, asking for a copy of the Manchester paper which contains the best report of the meeting. "You cannot however think how the echo of all that is said of her falls entirely dead before it reaches her. She never reads the newspapers, she is so entirely engrossed in her work that she takes no heed. She seems quite unconscious of it my Aunt says. Her toil (she Mrs. S. S.² says) is incessant, and with so much that is annoying and distasteful, the tending of the sick being the rest and comfort as it were of her day." She eventually reached home on 7 August, 1856. Shortly after this, no doubt, another undated letter was sent to Mrs. Gaskell by her sister. It is naturally adoring, not to say reverential; but the picture it paints of the home-coming of a national heroine perhaps makes it worth reproducing.

*Lea Hurst,
Saturday.*

My dear Mrs Gaskell

I have had my head and my heart so full since our dear one reached home, that I have not been able to answer you. Her 'posts' are something serious, and take up a great deal of our time. Anything so curious you cannot imagine, the piles of begging letters! from the Clergyman writing from the Queen's Bench for £70, to the Costermonger requiring a 'donkey by return of post,' or the young lady desiring a correspondence 'because I admire you so, and please let me have a letter by Tuesday.' Then requests for places of every kind from Officials of all kinds, particularly the bad ones who have opposed her very much—or patronage for a new kind of fancy work 'because my Father was descended from Welsh princes' or 'because all my male relations died in the reign of George III,' or some one with an infallible receipt for mending the world, only requiring 'some money,' or a madman addressing her as 'Empress of Civilisation' and dating from 'Armageddon,' and in the midst of all this rubbish, such beautiful letters, addresses from workpeople (by the bye she was sadly

¹ Afterwards Lady Verney.

² Mrs. Samuel Smith, "Aunt Mai," who went out to Scutari in 1855.

annoyed the other day at one of her answers being put in the Times), such feeling letters in queer handwritings, beautifully expressed. One of the prettiest is from the 'female Tenantry' of an estate of my Father's where we rarely go, with a magnificent clasped Bible. Indeed the feeling that the people have shewn her is the only part of her ovations which seems to give her pleasure. Her indifference to praise one must really see to believe, [she] just seems to pass on without heeding it to what interests her more. It comes in now in streams every morning, newspapers, music (there have been six songs about her this week with fine pictures, highly genteel !) poetry letters, addresses, books, dedications, presents in such curious variety.

As to her own self it is beautiful to see her, she is so calm so cheerful so simple. All the ignorance and carelessness and cruelty and falsehood she has had to encounter never seem to ruffle her (or to have ever done so my Aunt who was with her says) and what she has had to go through you cannot conceive, we ourselves did not know till this summer, (when we saw different Chaplains Doctors and officers coming home from Scutari and the Crimea) the sufferings inflicted upon her from mere spite. Dr. Blackwood and Lady Alicia¹ told us for instance how the Purveyor at Balaclava for 6 weeks would give the nurses no fresh meat (when all the army had it). They had nothing but preserved meat out of tins, often quite bad. And Mrs. Roberts (F's head nurse) came to Lady Alicia saying with tears in her eyes that Miss N was riding and riding 10 and 12 hours a day among the Hospitals, which lay very wide apart, and had not even *decent* food to support her. This was before she was lent the baggage cart without springs taken from the Russians, which is now grandiloquently called her 'carriage'—but don't tell this, for I don't want to make a 'martyr' of her. The charm is so great of her absolute freedom from it. I cannot get at any of these things from *her*—

And she is as merry about little things as ever in the intervals of her great thoughts, with as much interest in the small things of home as if she had not been wielding the management and organization of the material and spiritual comfort of thousands of men. And *how* much this depended upon her very few will ever know fully, tho' I believe *the people* have an instinct about it.

We are trying vainly to give her rest. She has so much necessary business about the work to which she has devoted her life. And life seems only valuable to her as a means of doing it. I am grieved to say she has a journey before her which she is very little up to, but she thinks some good may be done, so she will go, sorely worn as she really is, tho' she looks well in the face.

What a long letter but I cannot stop when I begin about her, to those who know how to value her. I enclose the letter to Mr B which pray

¹ Lady Alicia accompanied her husband, Dr. Blackwood, who went out as a chaplain.

keep—but do not shew it to any who can misunderstand. I am sure that Lord Stanley may see it. I believe he has something of the same stuff in him and can understand her. Dear Mrs Gaskell in haste, Believe me

Yours very sincerely

Parthe Nightingale.

The heroine herself, presumably not long after her return, wrote to Mrs. Gaskell thanking her for some expression of admiration for the men who served in the Crimea, and sending her the diary of a Sergeant Jowett,¹ with pages turned down to mark passages “characteristic of our men’s good sense and simple endurance.” There are two other letters from her. The first seeks to enlist the novelist’s help in what appears to have been an excellent cause.

30 Old Burlington St. W.

Sept 28/60

My dear Mrs. Gaskell

Your Capt. P. Jackson (who is also ‘my’ Capt. P. Jackson)² is I am afraid rather in a scrape about his Gibraltar ‘Soldiers’ Home’—You know I dare say that he is married—that it is of material importance to him to be repaid the money (above £1000) which he has advanced to the Institution. You know I dare say that he is not very business like—that he has taken, altered and fitted up houses (for the ‘Home’) without any written agreement as to lease or tenancy—upon a mere verbal arrangement with an old man of 73. But *I* say, there were many business-like officers in the Garrison who did nothing; and there was one unbusiness-like one who did it all—And we ought to help it out of its scrape—That its want was pressing in a place like Gibraltar, and that it has answered the want is certain.

There are many difficulties which no one knows who does not know the soldiers as well as I do—

I believe we could get the War Office to take over the whole thing, paying all the costs, if some kind of *lease-security* could be had. But then it would fall under the Barrack Dept. And if a Barrack Master were to be seen in the place, not a soldier would come near it.

I have often been told,—better ‘beg, borrow or steal’ the money than do that.

Under these circumstances, I am going to ‘beg.’ I am going to beg £1000 of which I may perhaps get *half* from the War Office, as a grant—

¹ This book surprisingly brought £35 at the Gaskell sale in 1914. (*Manchester City News*, 23 February, 1914.)

² A friend of Mrs. G.’s (see p. 123), but I find no more about him than a mere mention, in Cook’s *Life of F. N.*, ii. 76.

And I am going to beg from you—The W. O. will bring us in a few other subscriptions. And I hope you will be the War Office in Manchester—

Perhaps Lady Coltman, Miss Pilkington's friend, would give something.

I am so incapable now of writing any but the most urgent business-letters that I ask you, as being Capt. Jackson's first friend—*not to give* but to use your influence to make people give. The rent of the place is £144 a year—But if the debt could once be cleared off, the soldiers are so fond of it that they will make it nearly self-supporting. It is only on this plea, viz. the success of the experiment, that I think we ought to ask for support—

Ever yours sincerely

F. Nightingale.

Mrs. Gaskell willingly responded to this appeal. She writes to C. E. Norton, 10 December, 1860, "One piece of business—very much out of my way—only it really fell in it—I have done this autumn—helped Florence Nightingale and another friend of ours in establishing a Soldiers' Home in Gibraltar, where they can have cheap refreshments, can read, play games, write letters, etc. I am still working at this, as F. N. wishes above all things, before she dies, to see such Homes established on a permanent footing in all garrison towns."¹

In the last letter, three years later, and on black-edged paper, Miss Nightingale returns thanks for *Sylvia's Lovers*, but passes without further comment into a momentary sadness, and then into a topic which, whatever she may say in the letter, was at the moment a matter of the most pressing interest to her:—

Hampstead N.W.

Aug 17/63

My dear Mrs Gaskell

I take the first moment of respite (almost) that I have had, since the first of January, to thank you for your beautiful '*Sylvia's Lovers*'—

As soon as I found out that it was you who had done me the honor of sending me a copy, I asked three different people to thank you for me. I dare say not one of them has done it. Alas! I find out that one must depend on none, except those connected with one, in some 'high emprise.' And all those, who were once so connected with me, are already in another world.

¹ *Letters to Norton*, p. 74.

I am afraid to talk to you Manchester people, whose higher interests are so dreadfully pressing, of any less pressing interest. But I remember how much you were interested in Capt. P. Jackson's Soldiers' Homes. I have been entirely absorbed since the beginning of the year, in bringing out the Report of our Commission on the state of our Army in India and in acting upon it. I mean to do myself the honor of sending you a reprint of one of my papers on the subject.

'By mistake' Sir C. Wood (so he *writes*) has not presented our *whole* Report and its documents to the Houses of Parliament. 'By mistake' the type has been broken up. Should the subject excite the least interest in you, I should be 'proud' to furnish you with all the information possible.

Ever yours gratefully

Florence Nightingale.

She had been throughout the guiding spirit of this report, and had embodied her comments upon it in a paper entitled "How people may live and not die in India." When Sir Charles Wood, Secretary of State for India, had made these convenient mistakes, she became even more determined, and remedied affairs by preparing and printing at her own expense a special summary of the report and making the War Office recommend it officially to all officers in the Indian Army.¹

There is another letter connected with *Sylvia's Lovers* in the collection, from General Perronet Thompson, for many years M.P. for Hull. He gave Mrs. Gaskell a good deal of help in the composition of the book ; ² and the present letter was possibly intended to supply a few details of local colour :—

Eliot Vale. Blackheath.

1 May 1860

My dear Mrs. Gaskell,

I remember being once at Middleham,³ and apprehend it to have been *then* (it is like Waverley, 60 years ago) in a very wild country, which may make it all the more valuable now. I remember an old hostess in that part of the country pointing out to me the skeleton of a post-chaise, which she said was the first ever witnessed there, and when it came into the town the boys ran after it and cried, 'See-thee, See-thee, a leather cart wi' brass nails.' Descriptive enough of the style of ornament ; which was by brass nails external, like some trunk-boxes.

Even at the date spoken of, a post-chaise was so far a novelty, that I remember from personal experience, the carters in the narrow roads refused

¹ *Life*, ii. 35.

² See *Sylvia's Lovers*, p. xxv.

³ In Wensleydale.

to be assistant in allowing it to pass, and tried to run against it, reviling it as 'a bone-cart.'

But even in this country there was a darker still. I remember a certain 'Vale of Dent' of which the story ran (traceable perhaps to either Athens or Bagdad) that a girl from that region said, 'O, that's nothing like the moon we have in Dent.' A fine wild country all nevertheless, and a capital place to hear the spirit of the moor discoursing with the spirit of the fell.

I will not fail to communicate, if I extract any more information from Hull. But my principal informant (he is understood to have been once a player) says he is 'in the sere and yellow leaf,' and I am afraid his chariot-wheels are taken off.

Yours very truly and sincerely,

F. Perronet Thompson.

This may be a convenient point to mention two letters of particularly local interest. In 1856 J. E. Taylor, the proprietor of *The Manchester Guardian*, applied to Mr. Gaskell for help in finding a new writer for the paper. "He must be a man of really *vigorous* style, an easy writer, of good political knowledge and moderate opinions. For a really good man, we are prepared to pay very well and must do so, on account of the disadvantages to a literary man which residence in Manchester entails. We should not require generally more than 4 articles a week in the usual way." This must have been sent on to John Forster who, in his reply, 29 March, 1856, emphasises the disadvantages mentioned by Taylor; he has a young man in mind exactly suitable, but the bribe would have to be very large. He will understand if he gets no reply "because I really do not see how the paper would be able to afford any great sacrifice in this way." But Taylor's enterprise was being greatly assisted at this time by the removal of oppressive taxes. *The Guardian* became a daily in 1855 and reduced its price to 2d.; in 1857 it began to be sold at a penny. What young man was found, and how large his bribe, I have not discovered.¹

III. GODWIN, LEIGH HUNT, LANDOR, WORDSWORTH.

However great was Mrs. Gaskell's devotion to social causes, her eminence was that of a novelist; and naturally the greater

¹ The editor of the *M. G.* has kindly had an enquiry made, without success.

bulk of these letters come from literary correspondents. They range from lingering survivors of the last era such as Godwin and Wordsworth to such fore-runners of a new age as Rossetti and Charles Reade. Occasionally they are addressed to Mr. Gaskell.

Beginning then with the veterans, there is a curious note from Godwin written in the year before his death and three years after Mrs. Gaskell's marriage, the earliest of all these letters :—

Dear Madam

I am sorry to say that Mrs. Shelley had the audacity to take away Tomkins, Jenkins and the Minister for two or three days. If they must be delivered, they will be found at no 7 Upper Eaton Street, Pimlico.

Presumably these must have been books, lent perhaps, or from a circulating library ; but I have not been able to identify them.

There are two characteristic letters ¹ from Leigh Hunt, still obdurately humanitarian at the age of sixty-six. In *Howitt's Journal*, 1847, Mrs. Gaskell had published a pathetic little tale, much admired in its day, called *Libbie Marsh's Three Eras*. It was published again with two other tales in 1848, under the title, *Life in Manchester* ; ² while in 1850 all three were re-published, the other two in a booklet issued "for the benefit of Macclesfield Baths and Washhouses," and *Libbie Marsh* by herself. No doubt it was these two little books that Mrs. Gaskell sent to Leigh Hunt, and the date of his letters is probably 1850. (He left Edwardes Square early in 1851.)³ The story which offended him was that of Libbie Marsh, who with the best of intentions, bought a canary called Jupiter, Peter for short, for the little invalid, Franky Hall. What is worse they took Jupiter for an excursion to Dunham Woods. "Such green homes for

¹ There is also a letter from L. H. to W. J. Fox in the *Miscellaneous Letters*, vol. ii.

² "By Cotton Mather Mills," the name she had once intended to use for *Mary Barton*. It sounds local enough, but Cotton Mather was the famous New England divine who figures eventually in *Lois the Witch*. He must already have been in Mrs. Gaskell's mind. The other two stories were *The Sexton's Hero*, and *Christmas Storms and Sunshine*, both of which had appeared in *Howitt's Magazine*.

³ *Correspondence of L. H.*, 1862, ii. 132.

birds ! " says Franky, " Look, Peter ! would you not like to be there, up among those boughs ? " And the first thing Hunt would see as he picked up the book was a picture on its green cover depicting the little party in Dunham Park, the smoky chimneys of ' Drumble ' away in the distance, and in the nearest foreground—Jupiter in his cage. Who can wonder that the old poet objected ?

To Mrs. Gaskell.

I have plenty of grandchildren, and I hope they will all admire and love Mrs. Gaskell's writings as much as the rest of us do.

I thank you very much for the three little stories you have sent me. They are charming ; and I go, heart and soul, along with every word of them, except in one passage. Do not think me impertinent or ungrateful, if I mention that. It is the incident of the bird-cage. Remember that I was once confined for two years in a prison ; and hence it is that I cannot see with comfort a gift made to your poor little invalid of another *prisoner*. I think so highly of you, that I will even send you a fable which I wrote on this point some thirty years ago.¹ I know that custom's custom, and I see that the custom prevails among the poor Manchester workmen ; whom God comfort ! but I cannot wish them to be comforted in this manner ; and I am sure you are not the woman to be custom's slave. Witness your brave and lovely good word in behalf of the unhappiest of your sex.²—I have to beg you many pardons for the delay of this acknowledgment ; but I have been in a trouble (as the border of my paper will explain)³ and I was loth also to make my objection. Think your kindest, pray, both of that, and of your obliged humble servant,

Leigh Hunt.

Mrs. Gaskell took the reproof very graciously. Mr. Whitfield, without knowing of the existence of these letters from Hunt, prints her reply⁴ dated 13 September [1850]. Having acknowledged the value of friendly criticism, she goes on to say that Hunt

¹ This must have been *The Singing Man kept by the Birds* in his *Table-Talk* (1882, pp. 201-3). *Table-Talk* was first published 1851, so that Hunt may have had a proof sheet of the fable handy at this time.

² The reference is not to *Ruth*, which appeared in 1853, but to *Lizzie Leigh* which came out in *Household Words*, March, 1850.

³ It is not easy to explain this with the date 1850. In 1848 Hunt's brother John died, and it may be that all these letters should be dated in that year, in which case another explanation would have to replace the foregoing note—possibly Esther in *Mary Barton* would serve.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 29.

has made her *think*. It is true that it is a custom of the place to keep canaries in cages, and since she was drawing from the life, it might be allowable to have introduced the circumstance, but to have done so without one word of disapproval might seem to lend a sanction to the custom. "So tell your grandchildren that I own I was sorry." I cannot find that she ever added the 'one word of disapproval' in later editions, but as we gather from the rejoinder, Hunt's grandchildren at least may have been edified by her repentance.

Sept. 16.

Edwardes Square, Kensington.

I did not object to the incident of the bird-cage, but only to what you yourself, on reflection, find to have been wanting in it. On the contrary, I think the incident would have furnished an excellent opportunity for shewing the inconsiderateness, to which the best natures are rendered liable by custom.

Neither did I touch upon the great question of good and evil, which even so light-looking a matter as this sets open. I feel (as I am sure you do), that we have nothing to do with those metaphysics, when the duty of doing as we would be done by is straight before us short-sighted mortals. And only fancy winged creatures in cages!—calling too for their companions:—for this, it is understood, I believe, is the meaning of their song, strong soever as food may render it, and apparently cheerful too. What Heaven is pleased to do, or to allow, is one thing; but what we are to allow ourselves to do, on reflection, is another.

But I need not tell you commonplaces like these. Indeed I almost blush to have taken the liberty of telling you anything, seeing how well you receive it; for I have so much respect for those who can acknowledge an error, that the moment they do it, I feel as if I had been committing an error myself, and an impertinence, in assuming the privilege of setting them right.

That acknowledgment of it too to my 'grandchildren' will give me a fine opportunity of setting them a rare lesson.

I respect and love you.

Leigh Hunt.

While Leigh Hunt takes up the cause of caged birds, Walter Savage Landor no less characteristically proclaims the greatness of Milton, and in his less-known quality of amateur philologist offers comments on Mr. Gaskell's *Lectures on the*

Lancashire Dialect.¹ Contact may have been established between them after the appearance of *Mary Barton* by Forster who was known to the Gaskells from that time, and was Landor's intimate friend. Among the Rylands letters is an autograph of those thirty-four lines addressed "to the Authoress of *Mary Barton*" which were printed in *Last Leaves* and have often been quoted. There is also a printed sheet of his *Death of Blake*,² and a part of the proof sheets of *Giovanna of Naples*,³ with his corrections. The first letter, black-edged,⁴ is post-marked 1854, and although addressed to Mrs. Gaskell, is entirely concerned with her husband's lectures :—

Dear Madame,

I feel greatly honored by your note and the Lectures on the Lancashire Dialect. These are very instructive, no less to me than to others.

Etymology is that branch of philosophy which is nearest to the ground. When I was young I was intimate with Walter Whiter, a great etymologist,⁵ and I was interested in Walters's Welsh Dictionary,⁶ in which he shows the similiarity [*sic*] of many Celtic words to the Greek—I think a thousand, or more. There are vast numbers of cognate words running over the world.

It is not only in Lancashire that little birds are called *dicky* : in Warwickshire it was common when I was a boy.—*Pudgy*—and *pug*⁷ have representatives in the italian *poggio*. *Os* in *oso*, *tantarum* [p] in the old Latin *Quum tuba terribili sonitu taratantara*.⁸ *Clutter* is analogous for *cluster*. *Wor* is common for *was* in many parts of the midland counties. *Sed* is almost everywhere so pronounced for *said*. *Purs* is the same as the latin *pus*, and pronounced alike, not as our *us* and *thus*. *Nor* for *than* is usual in Warw : Carters in all parts of England cry *woa*. *Eysell*, *esil*, *aesel*, *aisil*, are all correlative with *acetum*. Terminations are unimportant but

¹ There are two lectures, originally appended to the 5th edition of *Mary Barton*, 1854.

² First printed in *The Examiner*, 13 May, 1854; afterwards in *Dry Sticks*, 1858.

³ Published with *Andrea of Hungary* in 1839.

⁴ On 2 March, 1854, Landor's eldest and only surviving sister Elizabeth died, depriving him, he told Forster, of sleep, appetite, digestion and everything (*Forster's Life*, ii. 485).

⁵ 1758-1832, Fellow of Clare College, Cambridge, and rector of Hardingham, Norfolk; as Landor says, a great philologist.

⁶ John Walters, 1721-97; his *English-Welsh Dictionary* appeared 1770-94.

⁷ Welsh : 'pushing or swelling out.'

l, m, and n are commutative. Now about *acetum* there is a curious piece of nonsense. A Roman poet says of Hannibal *montes solvit aceto*—as if any quantity of acid could dissolve the Alps—but *aceto* is now, and was then, the word for *axe*, *adze*, or *hatchet*, with which the Carthaginian made the road passable. The Tuscans give the word a dental sound, but the Milanese and Piedemontese pronounce it as we do.

Canting, setting on its side, is also italian—*da questo canto*, *accanto*. *Potter* (confuse) is the same as *pothor* and *bother*, and is almost in as common use.

p. 14. *gaum*. There are many words now called vulgar such as *gumshion*. When I was a boy, a gentleman's son wd not be ashamed of using it as *intelligent*. *Whittle* is used in Warwickshire.

p. 21. The Anglo Saxon *cuth* has a cousin german in the Latin *catus*.

22. *lennock*—*lank*—*link* perhaps too, from bending [ɹ], *lentus* not always *slow*, but *languid*, *con passi tardi e lenti* (Petrarca).

Qu. may not *dreary* have a relation to *dree*?

22. a *quickset* hedge is general for a *live* hedge.

23. Excellently just remark that 'English is very often a *corruption* of the Anglosaxon.' *Housen* is used in Warwickshire: *shoon* also. We say a *chicken* improperly, *en* is plural.

27. *potter* and *bother* are identical.

27. a *shive*, we say to *shivers*.

29. *swig*—both verb and thing, common throughout England.

Flitter, *flittermouse* is a *bat*.

drop it, not *only* as a Lancashire man wd say, but any man; and gracefully.

30 *ling* means *heath*—nearly throughout England—always in Warwicks, and Staffords:

The adjectives *gainly* and *ungainly* are common.

May not a *mort* be a *more-what* as a *somewhat*—the final is contracted. People often pronounce *somewhat summort*: the r is used or dropt by them *ad libitum*, as the h is.

Mr Gaskell deserves the society of our three great men, Chaucer, Shakespeare, and Milton! He will more easily forgive your sending me his book than bringing down on him these crudities of mine.¹

Believe me,

dear Madame,

Your obliged Sert.

W. S. Landor.

¹ I have not thought it necessary to annotate Landor's suggestions; some of them may quite fitly be called 'crudities'—for example *chicken* is not a plural form, *dreary* has no relation with *dree*.

The next letter, undated, was obviously written soon after:—

My dear Madame,

Here is 'The Death of Blake'—a man the most deserving of glory of any that ever bore arms.

Mr Gaskell will laugh at my *mort*. I did myself. Another childish hit at it is *moult*—the old french for much—the Italian *molto*. You know something of Cannock-Chase. My family had rights over it, hunting hawking etc. My uncle the Rector of Colton went to course there with his greyhounds. Ld. Uxbridge, father of the late Lord Anglesea, brought an action and gained it. On the trial at Stafford it appeared that the head of our family might go with an unlimited number of men and dogs, but must be there himself, and could not depute the power. My father was head of the family, which seems to have enjoyed this right before the Pagets were ever heard of. When I sold my estates in Rugeley, Longdon, Colton, Haresfield etc., I reserved my rights over the Forest—but I being abroad for above twenty years they were not exercised and perhaps are lost. Ld. Anson and Sir T. Clifford w^d have paid largely for them. The language of Staffordshire is most remarkable for its diphthong *oi* instead of *i* exactly the reverse of modern greek, which loses its full rich sound. Mr Gaskell knows that πολυφλοισβοιο is now poliflaisvao. Voltaire made the French spell properly—François he wrote Français—donnoit donnait etc.

Returning to *mort*—we have strange intensives—a 'deadly deal of fun' a *mighty* weak child—a *power* of idle words. The Romans had *power* in this sense—a power of ivy. In Horace is atque hederæ vis. The *simnel*, I find, was composed of sugar, flower [*sic*], currants, in equal quantities; with yellow of eggs, and enough of the whites to consolidate the mass, with a certain quantity of *saffron*-water. No butter in interior or exterior—but a hard crust of firm flower moistened with saffron-water and *polished* with saffron-water, yellow and white of egg, and a very little fine sugar.

I remain, dear Madame,

Very truly yours

W S L

The last of Landor's letters is post-marked Bath, 2 January, 1858; he was then very soon to leave England for good. Mr. Gaskell published a sermon on the anniversary of Milton's death in 1857. On page 8 two passages of some length are quoted; the first, from the *Second Defence*, "I considered that many had purchased a less good by a greater evil—the meed of glory by the loss of life . . ." is a fine passage, but as Landor must have known, the thought is the thought of Milton but the English is the English of Fellowes. He probably refers to the second,

from the *Reason of Church Government*. "For surely to every good and peaceable man, it must in nature be a hateful thing to be the displeaser and molester of thousands; much better would it like him doubtless to be the messenger of gladness and contentment, which is his chief intended business to all mankind, but that they resist and oppose their own true happiness. But when God commands to take the trumpet, and blow a dolorous or a jarring blast, it lies not in man's will what he shall say, or what he shall conceal."

My dear Sir,

Scarcely three hours have elapsed since I received your Sermon on Milton's death, and I have read [sic] the greater part twice. I consider him as the most perfect Being of God's whole creation. It appears to me that the *Paradise Lost* is the noblest of poems. It does not place him before Homer and Shakespeare, because they wrote more than one almost equally admirable. When a great tree is cut down, a hundred suckers spring forth round about it. So happens it in regard to Milton. Nothing grand has followed. A drinking song of Dryden is the most applauded.¹ Within a half-century lived three such prosewriters as never existed since or before—Pascal, Bossuet and Milton. The tone and spirit of our glorious countryman is far higher than the French. Compare the fullest burst of Bossuet with the period you have quoted in p. 8. In no language is anything so august. Even in the *Paradise Lost* is nothing grander or more harmonious. I have had occasion, in some other place, to remark that they are magnificent *verses*. Macaulay in his running commentary (for history it is not to be called, any more than Nieburhs [sic] of Rome) does justice to Milton's integrity. Of his poetry it could not be expected that an Edinburgh Reviewer should be a judge. But Macaulay has written better poetry than prose. His Lays of ancient Rome are admirable.

Let me now ascend from the mortal to the immortal, and unite my wishes to yours that the death of Milton may be celebrated yearly in all religious congrations [congregations?] There ought also to be a day of expiation for our sins in keeping holy that of Charles the First—a truckler to the Pope, a swindler, a perjurer, and a torturer. We have only two Saints in our calendar—I do not mean the Newgate, which has many altho of an inferior order. We have Saint George and Saint Charles, who was somewhat more than mere Saint, being also Martyr!

On the thirtieth of this January, which happens to be my birthday, and on which I enter my eightyfourth year, I shall drink a glass of claret to the glorious memory of Cromwell, Ireton, and Ludlow.

¹ Presumably referring to *Alexander's Feast*; the description is more contemptuous than exact.

With many thanks for your valuable present, believe me, dear Sir,
very sincerely yours

W S Landor.

Mrs. Gaskell met Landor at Rome in 1863.¹ Swinburne was there at the time, having come as he says in his poem

The youngest to the oldest singer
That England bore.

Wordsworth she had seen in 1849, he too then on the verge of the grave. Crabb Robinson arranged the meeting;² and it must have been then that the poet wrote the following contribution to her autograph album:—

He that feels contempt
For any living Thing hath faculties
Which he hath never used.

William Wordsworth.

Lesketh How

20th July, 1849.

Did she, one wonders, remind him that long ago he had written to her husband to thank him for his *Temperance Rhymes* (1839).³

Dear Sir

I have read your *Temperance Rhymes* with much pleasure and cannot but think that they must do good.

You have judged well in adding those that present pictures of the good and virtuous, by way of contrast to the wretched whom you would deter from continuing in a course that must end in death, and if not repented of, in misery unspeakable—In this latter division of your work I was especially pleased with the Verses founded on the beautiful old Welsh Custom, with which you have first made me acquainted.

I remain dear Sir with prayers for the success of your humane endeavour

Sincerely yours

Wm Wordsworth.

Rydal Mount

Ambleside.

July 22nd. 40.

¹ Haldane, p. 291.

² See his *Diary*, 14 October, 1849.

³ They were anonymous. Wordsworth's letter was sent to the author at his publisher's address.

The poem referred to is at page 70, *Heaven to Thee* ; as an introductory note explains, " In Wales, formerly, on the Sunday after a funeral, each relation of the deceased knelt on his grave, exclaiming, ' Nevoedd iddo,' i.e. ' Heaven to him.' "

The only other representative of the older schools is Barry Cornwall who contributes an autograph of his poem *Lament*, and a brief note dated 24 June, 1867, obviously written, as he says himself, with the greatest difficulty. He was then 80 but lived on until 1874.

IV. MATTHEW ARNOLD, G. H. LEWES AND GEORGE ELIOT, KENYON AND MRS. BROWNING, SOME OTHER WOMEN WRITERS, KINGSLEY, MAURICE, LUDLOW, AND THOMAS HUGHES.

Matthew Arnold, whose private expressions about his contemporaries were generally supercilious and damaging, has left no unkind remark about Mrs. Gaskell ; perhaps because her work was so quiet and unpretentious that no-one made any extravagant claims for it. On the contrary the complimentary passages in the following letters are authenticated by Mrs. W. E. Forster's description of him on one occasion " stretched at full length on a sofa, reading a Christmas tale of Mrs. Gaskell, which moves him to tears, and the tears to complacent admiration of his own sensibility." ¹ They had not met at the date of the first letter. He had published anonymous volumes (" by A.") in 1849 and 1852, and had just given to the world *Poems by Matthew Arnold. A New Edition*, 1853. The first poem in this volume is really a sonnet ; it is followed by *Sohrab and Rustum*, to which Arnold refers :—

Derby, November 18th, 1853.

Dear Madam

It is always agreeable to try to repay, in however slight a degree, the pleasure one has received ; and I was so much gratified to hear from my mother, that you, whose books had given me such sincere delight, had found pleasure in reading some of my Poems, that I have ventured, although personally unacquainted with you, to send you a volume in which they are for the first time collected with my name.

¹ Quoted *Mary Barton*, p. xlvii.

I hope you will not be repelled from the first poem of the collection by its Eastern names ; for I think you will find the story a very human one. Believe me, dear Madam, with sincere gratitude and respect,
 ever faithfully yours,

M. Arnold.

Subsequently they became known to each other personally. No one was better able than Mrs. Gaskell to enlighten Arnold on at least one subject—that of the author of *Villette*, whose mind, he had said in 1853, “contains nothing but hunger, rebellion, and rage, and therefore that is all she can, in fact, put into her book. No fine writing can hide this thoroughly, and it will be fatal to her in the long run.”¹ The next letter shows that if he had come to think more kindly of her before writing his *Haworth Churchyard*, the change must to some degree be attributed to conversation with her sister novelist and future biographer. The poem appeared in *Fraser's Magazine*, May, 1855, where Mrs. Gaskell must have seen it ; it has a good deal of descriptive detail—one wonders how much of it was “pumped” out of the poet’s neighbour at dinner. Harriet Martineau is celebrated in the same poem. She is called “poor Miss Martineau” in the letter, presumably because in 1855, suffering from heart disease, she supposed her life to be near its close and wrote her *Autobiography* ; as the poem says, she was

expecting from Death,
 In mortal weakness, a last Summons.

Actually, however, her life was prolonged for some twenty years, the summons being delayed until 1876.

23 Grosvenor St. West.
 June 1st. 1855.

My dear Mrs Gaskell

I must find time to send you at least one word of thanks for your most kind letter. Few people’s satisfaction could have given me so much pleasure as yours.

I am afraid the metre in which the poem was composed must have interfered with many people’s enjoyment of it :² but I could not manage to say what I wished as I wished in any other metre : and I was greatly desirous to say something, at such a time, in honour and respect of both those who are the chief personages of the poem. How good is poor Harriet

¹ *Letters*, 1895, i. 29.

² The lines are unrhymed and have a varied rhythm, mainly with three stresses.

Martineau's sketch in the *Daily News*! You will have smiled to yourself, I am sure, in reading my lines, in spite of all that was sad in their subject, to think of our conversation at dinner, and how I was *pumping* you.

I am almost sorry you told me about the place of their burial. It really seems to put the finishing touch to the strange crop-grained character of the fortunes of that ill-fated family that they should even be placed after death in the wrong, uncongenial spot.¹

Farewell, my dear Mrs Gaskell, with renewed thanks. May *you*, at any rate, long continue living and working, and delighting us all.

ever most sincerely yours,

M. Arnold.²

Some passages of great interest in the *Life of Charlotte Brontë* are connected with George Henry Lewes. It was he, for example, who advised the authoress of *Jane Eyre* to study Miss Austen, and thus drew from her the well-known remarks about that writer's deficiency in passion and poetry. Mrs. Gaskell was not disposed to take a light view of Lewes's unconventional relationship with George Eliot, nor indeed of the principles which she supposed had led to that obliquity. Letting Norton into the secret of the authorship of *Adam Bede* in 1859, she ends, "all this is miserable enough,—but I believe there are many excuses—the worst is that Mr. Lewes' character and opinions were formerly *at least* so bad."³ The following letter may be compared with George Eliot's to Sara Hennell, 16 April, 1857, expressing her admiration of the same work, and containing an eloquent description of the Scilly shores :—⁴

Scilly Isles
15 April 1857.

Dear Mrs Gaskell

I have just finished your 'Life of Charlotte Brontë'—which has afforded exquisite delight to my evenings on this remote patch of rock, round which the Atlantic roars, and dashes like a troop of lions, making a solitude almost equal to Haworth moors—quite equal, as far as any society

¹ What does this mean? They were buried in the Brontë tomb in Haworth Church.

² Arnold's brother, W. D. Arnold, who had gone out to India, in 1848, wrote on 11 July, 1851, sending £10 for Mrs. G. to distribute among the Manchester poor (cf. Haldane, p. 247) and telling her that *Mary Barton* was widely known in India. "There can be few societies . . . where the Lessons of Poverty and common Humanity are more needed." The book had constantly brought his father to his mind, as one who, he knew, would particularly have rejoiced in it.

³ *Letters to Norton*, p. 40.

⁴ Cross's *Life*, p. 218.

I get here. If I had any public means of expressing my high sense of the skill, delicacy and artistic power of your Biography, I shd not trouble you with this note. But it is a law of the literary organization that it must relieve itself in expression,—I discharge my emotion through the penny post ; at least, such of it as was not discharged in wet eyes, and swelling heart, as chapter after chapter was read.

The book will, I think, create a deep and permanent impression ; for it not only presents a vivid picture of a life noble and sad, full of encouragement and healthy teaching, a lesson in duty and self-reliance ; it also, thanks to its artistic power, makes us familiar inmates of an interior so strange, so original in its individual elements and so picturesque in its externals—it paints for us at once the psychological drama and the scenic accessories with so much vividness—that fiction has nothing more wild, touching, and heart strengthening to place above it.

The early part is a triumph for you ; the rest a monument for your friend. One learns to love Charlotte, and deeply to respect her. Emily has a singular fascination for me—probably because I have a passion for lions and savage animals, and she was une bête fauve in power, and splendour, and wildness. What an episode that death of her's ! and how touching is Charlotte's search for the bit of heather which the glazed eyes could not recognize at last !¹ And what a bit of the true religion of home is the whole biography !

I have nothing but thanks for the way you have managed my slight episode. There is however one thing I could have wished,—and perhaps in a second edition, if your own judgment goes that way, you might insert a phrase respecting the 'Edinburgh' article, intimating that it is *not* a disrespectful article to women, although maintaining that in the *highest* efforts of intellect women have not equalled men. Lord Jeffrey tampered with the article, as usual, and inserted some to me offensive sentences, but the main argument—as far as I recollect it—is complimentary to women, not disrespectful. As far as appears in this book I seem to have written an offensive article, not only one offensive on the personal ground but on the general ground.² *Is* this so ? And if not, would not a word from you intimate as much ?

I am ashamed to trouble you with so small a matter ; but as I did not object to Currer Bell's uncomplimentary passages appearing, you will not, I hope, think me over sensitive in wishing not to be misrepresented on a subject which I feel to be momentous.

Believe me

My dear Mrs Gaskell

Ever truly yours

G. H. Lewes.

¹ See *Life of C. B.*, Haworth ed., p. 382.

² It was highly offensive to Charlotte Brontë at all events. See the *Life*, pp. 439-40.

The review in question was that of *Shirley* in the *Edinburgh*, January 1850. Mrs. Gaskell originally wrote of this, "Now in this review of *Shirley* the headings of the first two pages ran thus : 'Mental Equality of the Sexes?' 'Female Literature,' and through the whole article the fact of the author's sex is never forgotten." In subsequent editions the passage runs, "Now, although this review of *Shirley* is not disrespectful towards women, yet the headings of the first two pages," etc. If only all the other objections could have been so easily met !

A very interesting letter from George Eliot herself, 11 November, 1859, replying to Mrs. Gaskell's compliments on *Adam Bede*, and acknowledging a certain literary indebtedness to her, has already been printed in Cross's *Life*¹ and since then often quoted. There was indeed more affinity between these two remarkable women than might appear on the surface, both rooted in the provinces, both lovers of farm and countryside, both interested in dissenting circles, and earnestly concerned with social problems. At all events they stood nearer to each other than either of them to Mrs. Browning,² three letters from whom form one of the most interesting parts of this correspondence. They may be said to have been the direct product of Mrs. Gaskell's passion for autographs. She appears to have begged a Mrs. Browning autograph from old John Kenyon early in 1853. He replies 18 June, 1853, sending her a whole letter from his cousin, though not without reluctance, being "shy of giving away letters from friends." The letter, which is undated, evidently belongs to the summer or early autumn of 1852—the Brownings had settled in Welbeck Street at the end of June that year, and by November were back, greatly relieved, at Casa Guidi :—³

Saturday—58 Welbeck Street.

Thank you, dearest Mr. Kenyon, for thinking of me on Windermere. Almost thou persuadest me that there are Alps in England—but not quite. Because, you see, (among other because) you might as well

¹ Pp. 292-3.

² Although, as Kenyon remarks, in a letter of this series, "there is a relationship not very distant between *Mary Barton* and *The Cry of the Children*."

³ Dowden, *Life of R. B.*, Chap. VIII (Everyman ed., pp. 152-4).

maintain the beauty of a face without eyes, as of a mountain without snow, against these glorious spiritualities of the earth which we may look at in Switzerland—The peculiar outlooking countenance of the Alps up against the heavens—nothing can rival *that*, surely, in the world—I, at least, must be forgiven for thinking so, as long as I have not seen your famous English and Welsh hills—As to Malvern, which I *have* seen, I could as soon compare a child's marble to the globe, as the Malvern hills to the hills about Lucca even ! !—let alone the Alps.

The weather here is thick and heavy, but warm, and there is not much wrong with me so far. Robert and Wiedeman [Kenyon here notes 'her child'] are well—and now, do you know, you have set yourself right with Wiedeman by sending him a kiss. After your last visit to us, he sadly confided to Wilson ¹ that 'Tenyon' (the child has not arrived yet at a knowledge of the courtesies of life)—'Tenyon non ama bene Peninni';—because you didn't kiss him !! A kiss is his 'credo' of love, poor little darling !—

So glad I am that you are coming. We miss you dreadfully—Yet we have been turning round and round in a circle of invitations, not able to do half we were asked to do—We went to Mr. Milnes's christening luncheon ²—and think of his having the good-nature to write from Paris (where he went for a week) to desire that my child should be asked—and think of my vanity not resisting the temptation of it, in spite of Robert and common sense ! It was a brilliant luncheon—plenty of fine people, and fine spirits, which is such a different thing !—The baby, carried round the room in India Muslin and Brussels lace to humanize us all—an admirable baby, who understood her position and never once cried. Mr. Thackeray was there, and Edwin Landseer, with the rest. And my child behaved like an angel, and knocked the table when the host had made a speech—only refusing to kiss the baby,—which was a fault certainly.

Then, we went to Farnham for two days, on a visit to Mr and Mrs Paine—and there, we met (besides the purple heath) Mr Kingsley, and I liked him extremely, and so did Robert. He is original and intense, and full of kindness and goodness, it seemed to me.

The Proctors go away to Brighton next Tuesday—on the same morning that their son leaves England—which is well contrived—Today, we met Mrs. Procter at Rogers's, when we went there to breakfast. He was in great force, and pleasant to hear and see,—he asked us to go again on Monday morning,—to which we said 'yes' of course. Mr. Forster paid us a little visit yesterday, and I was quite pained to observe the melancholy into which he has dropt from physical suffering and seclusion. He, too, goes to Brighton on Saturday—and we are to pass Tuesday evening with him in manner of farewell.

¹ Mrs. Browning's maid.

² It was his first child. During this same visit to England Browning attended the christening of another baby, Hallam Tennyson.

Yesterday, too, came the Belgian minister to thank Robert for his essay,¹ but Robert was not at home, so he had to throw away his graciousness (and he was very gracious) upon me instead. He will come again, he says, to see Robert. We two foreigners (meanwhile) talked about you English, with much analytical philosophy and a little criticism.

Are you aware that Miss Bayley, not only dreams of Rome, as you and ourselves do, but seriously make[s] a question of it? Mrs. Jameson, too, turns her face towards Rome, notwithstanding her revelations [?] against it.

Here are the two or three words you asked for. We use many in talking of you, dearest cousin,—Come back soon—

Your ever affectionate and grateful

Ba.²

Mrs. Gaskell replied at once to Kenyon, evidently expressing admiration of Mrs. Browning while taking objection to her remarks on our English hills; whereupon Kenyon wrote again:—

39 Devonsh. Place.

June 23/1853

I thank you dear Mrs. Gaskell for your very *fresh* and agreeable letter. You may well puzzle about Mrs. Browning's unreadable handwriting. The Boy's name is *Wiedeman*—I am not sure if I spell it rightly—the maiden name of Mr. Browning's Mother—Luckily he has another name—Robert—for I hold it quite unchristian to christen a child with such a puzzling name as the '*Wiedeman*.' . . .

On my part I certainly propose to gratify my cousin by sending her your letter—to Florence—within a few days. I know how it will please her!—

I know your Northern hills—'Whenside, Penygent, and Ingleborough'—and all the lake country hills very well—having spent much time among them—and was among the lakehills only last year—and—as I looked at them—agreed with you that the Malvern hills are not our best specimen.—Yet Wordsworth had expressed to me, more than once, that he considered the Malvern Hills—low as they are—'as the most mountainous-looking range in England.' . . .

I have seen Mrs. Paine—more than once—with Mrs. Browning—a genial-tempered Creature—who struck with my cousin's poetry—affectionately sought her acquaintance.—

¹ This must refer to Browning's essay on Shelley, prefixed to the spurious Shelley letters published that year, 1852. A copy, presumably, had been given to the Ambassador.

² With this compare letter to Mrs. Martin, 2 September, 1852, covering some of the same ground (E. B. B., *Letters*, London, 1897, ii. 83-4).

I quarrel sadly with the Brownings—both Wife and Husband—for their many and as I call them insolent obscurities—all for want of pains-taking—But I know of no writer who touches the heart of far-off readers—as she does—and if ever you come to know her—as I hope—for both your sakes—you may—you will find that she is only the more estimable the nearer you come to her—I was going to say—love-able only for a doubt whether *poets* are ever as loveable as their writings—

I am Dear Mrs Gaskell—

Very truly yours

John Kenyon.

He was as good as his word. Mrs. Gaskell's letter was sent without delay, producing the following open-hearted communication from Casa Guidi, complete with tears, Hebrew etymology, and Penini :—

Casa Guidi—Florence.

July 16 [1853 postmark]

I don't know, my dear Mrs. Gaskell, whether I ought to write to you, but, as it would be difficult for me to help it, I follow the morality of the world in doing what is easiest and pleasantest whether it is right or wrong. I had just finished 'Ruth' when my dear great-hearted friend Mr. Kenyon, who finds the directest way of giving pleasure by instinct, sent me your letter to himself. Hear the 'echoes in the hills'!—The combination of a very strong feeling towards you, with the assurance of your kind feeling towards me, is too much for reserve—carries me at once over every thought of our being strangers in the flesh to one another—And I write—and thank you from my heart for your sympathy and appreciation—I love and honour your books—especially 'Ruth' which is noble as well as beautiful, which contains truths purifying and purely put, yet treats of a subject scarcely ever boldly treated of except when taken up by unclean hands—I am grateful to you as a woman for having so treated such a subject—Was it quite impossible but that your Ruth should *die*? I had that thought of regret in closing the book—Oh, I must confess to it—Pardon me for the tears' sake!—¹

Shall I spell out to you the name of my child—Robert Wiedeman Barrett. So he was christened! 'Robert' from my husband, because

¹ Cf. E. B. B., *Letters*, ii. 141-2. "Tell me if you have read *Ruth*. That's a novel which I much admire. It is strong and healthy at once, teaching a moral frightfully wanted in English society. Such an interesting letter I had from Mrs. Gaskell a few days ago [her reply to the present one]—simple, worthy of *Ruth*. By the way, *Ruth* is a great advance on *Mary Barton*, don't you think so?" Her opinion of *Mary Barton* was not very favourable (i. 471-2). Charlotte Brontë also wanted to know of Ruth "why should she die?" (Haldane, p. 65).

there is a family necessity for Robert to follow Robert—But I wont have two Roberts in our house—I strongly object to the confusion—and the pollution—which ‘confusion’ means in the Hebrew, you know). So I call him by his second name Wiedeman, which was the maiden name of my husband’s mother, German by extraction—It was well to give him that saint’s name,—for she passed from the world as our baby entered it, turning the joy into grief—The association was strong and tender—too bitter at first not to be very tender afterwards—You see it is not a fanciful name, caught up for fantastic reasons, and this time you will be able to read it, wont you? I shall like you to remember the name of our child—He is good and loving, and has it in his face—the faint spiritual little face shut up in golden ringlets; yet with plenty of sound, loud, silver-ringing, earth-joy, which makes the house happy—dear darling!

We are forced to give up our summer visit to England this year, but next summer we hope and mean to be in London—Will there be a chance of seeing you then, dear Mrs. Gaskell?—I write for my husband as well as for myself—He is not a thick and thin novel-reader like me, but he was absorbed in your Ruth and feels all my feelings on it.

May God bless you and strengthen your [*rest on flap of envelope*] hands and heart to do more good work for the world’s grateful use! Make room, meanwhile, in a kind thought, for one who, if she had seen your face, might boast of being your friend—why not now therefore?

Elizabeth Barrett Browning.

Mrs. Gaskell’s reply found the Brownings at the Bagni di Lucca where Robert was busy bringing *Men and Women* towards completion. The scenery of *By the Fireside* is drawn from the mountains where Mrs. Browning rode about on her donkey, and from where on 7 October she sent the following long and self-revealing letter:—

My dear Mrs. Gaskell

Your letter followed me to this place where we have been living for three months an exquisite summer-life, somewhat in the manner of the dwellers in tents—which is my native manner I think—for there must surely be gypsy blood in me, unless gypsy-soul should be enough for the purpose. I like social liberty better than political liberty even, and hate Mrs Grundy worse than the Czar. Such a summer we have had here! Nothing makes a strong woman of me,—but I ride about the mountains on a donkey in a round peasant’s hat for which I should be pelted in Manchester, and see such divine visions as of a new heaven and new earth from the summits as you cannot dream of in England except when you are poetical or take opium—But all is at an end now—It is getting too cold, here in the mountains, for a tent-life, and in this room I write in,

is no carpet, while five folding doors keep up the draughts carefully 'sans intermission.' So we go back to Florence on Monday, to stay there a month or more, previous to our removal to Rome for the winter. Next summer we must be back in London for a time.

I turn to a second page (which looks ungrateful) to thank you for your most kind and interesting letter. How it pleased me that you should care to write to me so much of yourself—and, now, how I seem to know you and to hold your hand!—May God bless you, and the world through you!—I think you have the power of doing a great deal of good. But I shall not tell you of my past as you have told me of yours. You are happy to be able to talk of your past. I never can talk of mine—no, not even to my husband. His plough furrowed up all my green lands, so that to look back even to my joyful childhood makes me start with pain. My husband says I am morbid in respect to these things—which is true perhaps—My past will never learn to lie still, as perhaps a past should—It is alive, and throbs even under this present—Feel.—

There is one anniversary which I like to remember, nay, two—my wedding-day, above seven years ago—and my child's birthday—For all the rest I cultivate oblivion, and am in this assisted by a natural gift of inaptitude for numbers and days of the month, and years. But those seven years I am ready to talk of to anybody—I like to talk of them, to lift up the folds of them, and to thank God for all the happiness hid in each—If there are shadows even here,—a little rent or a little stain—it has not been the fault of my husband—no indeed.

One feels shy, as you say, in speaking of one's husband, so I leave mine to tell you of my child.—Wiedeman,—Penini—as we commonly call him, because in his vain aspiration to say Wiedeman he called himself so—Penini sounds like a fairy's name—and he looks like a fairy—he has been called twenty times a fairy-child by different strangers—and really he does look like a fairy—slight and small, radiant and active, his running is like flying, and his long shining ringlets seem to lift him up from the ground—With an affinity though for angels rather! 'Oh, dear Mamma, I do want a litty angel to play wiz so velly mush—An angel wiz wings, and no dless on!' (He has seen angels 'with wings and no dress on' in his Florentine pictures)—And when his nurse objected to his running about the room in the morning without his nightgown before going into his bath, the answer was—'But the angels *does* it.' He is four years old. More's the pity—I wish they were coming over again—

Now let me confess to you—My whole personal vanity is absorbed in that child—As women are vain of their eyes and hair and complexion—yes, just so,—just as vilely—I am vain of his curls and his red cheeks, and his long dark eyelashes. I look at him for halfhours together as the Lady Matildas look in the glass—More's the shame, I know.

As to my husband, I am not vain of *him*—On the contrary a very wholesome state of humility is always connected with him, because I know

so perfectly that he is too good for me—that I am not worthy of him in one thing but love—Only Love is a sort of leveller.

Oh, that first mother's rapture you speak of, and I have felt and feel!—how I echo back what you say—It was the stronger in me that I had made up my mind not to have a living child—Without much reason I believe, for everything on that occasion had gone right with me—But I was weak you know, and I had had two disappointments already through weakness, as I have had two since—yet in the midst of all these shipwrecks the living soul was landed safely—I couldn't realise to myself the possibility though—I was sure he wouldn't be born alive. And I remember how all the time I was ill, the sight of the prepared cradle lined with pink and set at the bottom of the bed, tormented me—how I would have given anything in the world to say 'Take that cradle away,' but had not courage because I was too superstitious to *say* it. (I am horribly superstitious when you come to know me.) And when the child was born I fell into an unbecoming sort of ecstasy—clapped my hands and talked aloud various pure madnesses for which only God and a woman can hold me excused. 'He is mighty and *despiset*h not.' I remember that my impulse was to leap out of bed and dance and sing—Now a solemn joy is what one *should* have felt. I should have written it so in a poem. But life is stronger than our art.

I could not nurse him and was content. That more than anything will prove to you my overflowing joy—yes, *that* more than anything—I was as meek and satisfied as was possible when the physician announced to me that for his sake and mine, I could not be allowed to nurse him. Can you believe it, you?—

My husband, I must tell you what is characteristic of him, was nearly, if not quite, as enchanted with the child as I was—My husband, day by day, and week by week, came to see that baby undressed and put into the bath, taking note of how it grew—how the eyebrows were coming—how the hair would be thick one day. We were both like children with a new doll—I of course the more unreasonable of the two!—as is reasonable.

Imprudent marriages are the most prudent marriages according to my philosophy—and experience—for I too have made an imprudent marriage, I thank God for it. I even remember dear Mr. Kenyon writing to somebody, who of course, told me directly, that we might have no children. So the world judges, even the golden side of the world, made of the Mr. Kenyons! For my part, I congratulate you, dear Mrs. Gaskell, from the bottom of my heart, on having made an imprudent marriage—Also, on all your other goods and blessings of life.

Shall we ever put our children together, I wonder? Is there a chance of your being in London next summer, and do you ever bring with you your youngest child who is most contemporary with mine? ¹

¹ They met at Florence in 1857 (for the first time—Mrs. Chadwick's suggestion to the contrary, p. 238, is unfounded). "I hear that Mrs. Gaskell is coming,

My love to all of them for your sake—my husband is gone to Lucca to see a Fra Bartolomeo or he should send you a message. Let me remain in affectionate esteem,

Your friend

Elizabeth Barrett Browning.

I have sent you a letter of personalities because I liked yours so much—Keep the law with me henceforward even so—an *I for an I*.

A number of other women writers are represented in the collection, no others so eminent but all of them of some repute in their day. Anna Jameson, probably in the early days of Mrs. Gaskell's fame, wrote asking to be remembered "as one who must always be with deep respect and admiration and I may add *gratitude* Sincerely yours." The novelist, Geraldine Jewsbury, already mentioned, wrote in the course of a day on which Mrs. Gaskell was to go to a theatre, "Macready acted splendidly last night in 'Richelieu' but the play is *Bulwer* all over and so *thin* that even good acting cannot give it a body. I once saw Macready in 'King Lear' and got fairly *frightened*—I hope you will have the same good luck!" Since Macready retired from the stage, after many last performances, on 26 February, 1851, this too belongs to early days.¹ Several years later is a letter from Caroline Clive,² authoress of the very successful *Paul Ferroll* (1855), referring to the *Life of Charlotte Brontë*. "The circumstances in which you were placed were indeed disagreeable—but tho there is a beginning and a middle to trouble, when one is in the active part of it, there is an End also, when

whom I am sure to like and love. I know *that* by her letters, though I was stupid or idle enough to let our correspondence go by; and by her books, which I earnestly admire" (E. B. B., *Letters*, ii. 259). See some remarks on their meeting in *M. of 2 S.*, p. 170.

¹ There is a very human letter from Macready, 23 February, 1856, about a young woman who long before took to the stage against his advice and since had fallen into distressing circumstances. Mrs. G. had apparently met her and written to the famous actor, who sends what he calls a pitiful contribution, wishing it could be more.

² She died 1873 through her dress catching fire. Norton describes, in one of his letters to Mrs. G., how the same fate befell Mrs. Longfellow. Mrs. G.'s friend, Mme. de Circourt, after a similar occurrence, never recovered her health and did not long survive. Women's dress in the middle of last century must have been nearly as dangerous as the shirt of Nessus.

it lies quite behind, and is good but to be forgotten. Yr biography will always be a model work, and one of wh : the Interest is perpetual."

A curiously interesting glimpse of the Victorian literary young woman is to be found in a letter from Miss Mulock politely but firmly refusing Mrs. Gaskell's offer to introduce her to useful friends, in the interests of a book which she *must* finish without delay. It has a P.S. "I have just bethought me that the phrase—'I can't pay a visit till book is done'—sounds very like a story—since I go in the country on Monday for a week. But that is not *a visit* but a sojourn at a farm-house for the express purpose of writing all day in quiet and having country evening-walks. A visit, to strangers—or in any social household—would be ruin to my 3rd. vol. which I am very anxious over. So I have not told a story after all. Fanny Martin is out—or I am sure wd. send a message to you. Today is her birthday and tomorrow mine. She, 22—I, 25.—Are we not a steady pair of elderly women?" This industrious young novelist is better known as Mrs. G. L. Craik, and her diligence was fully rewarded after the appearance of *John Halifax Gentleman* in 1857. When she became 25 in 1851 she had already published two novels; that on which she was so resolutely engaged was *The Head of the Family*, published in the same year. Her friend, Frances Martin, lived to write her obituary in the *Athenæum*, 22 October, 1887. In their early days they were considered very daring. "We had been hearing much of [Miss Mulock] just then [Jan. 1851] from Mrs. Gaskell, who had been meeting her and Miss Frances Martin in London, as two handsome young girls, living in lodgings by themselves, writing books and going about in society in the most independent manner, with their latch-key. Such a phenomenon was rare, perhaps unexampled in those days."¹ But after all nothing more morally subversive than *John Halifax* resulted from their habits; and as we have seen Miss Mulock could not bear even the appearance of having told a story.

To this list of the famous who were not exactly great we may add another well-known name, that of Eliza Cook. The

¹ *M. of 2 S.*, p. 64.

letter here reproduced was piloted by another from Charlotte Cushman, the great American actress who was in Europe between 1845 and 1849, and who had evidently met Mrs. Gaskell. The substance of her letter is the same as that of Eliza Cook's, requesting Mrs. Gaskell's collaboration in a new weekly journal which, she says, will have a "large chance at great circulation in consequence of the great 'people popularity' of its proprietor, my friend, Miss Cook." This was *Eliza Cook's Journal*, a paper for family reading, which lasted from 1849 to 1854. It does not appear that Mrs. Gaskell ever wrote for it. Perhaps even in 1849 the aims and objects stated—or perhaps adumbrated is a better word—by the authoress of *The Old Arm Chair* may have seemed heavy to contemplate.

10 North Parade
Bath
Janry 22nd, 49

Dear Madam

You may have heard of me through my esteemed friend, Miss Cushman, and moreover, the intense and tearful sympathy excited in my breast by 'Mary Barton' is too genuine to allow me to hold you as a 'perfect stranger' therefore without further preamble let me make known my wishes, with warm hope of your accedence to them.

I purpose publishing a weekly periodical in April—something in the fashion of Chambers, but with *fresher blood* and more vital activity of principle, to consist of papers calculated to advance the broad interests of Humanity and the social feelings of Morality. Instruction and amusement will be blended. No *ultra* doctrine of any character will mark it, no rabid *excitement* of the lower classes be instilled, but *Truth* and *Liberal Progression* most firmly advocated in all its breathings. Now my dear Madam would it be agreeable to you to let me have a couple of articles on any popular subjects which your mind suggested as being likely to serve the mass. About two pages or two and a half of Chambers size will suit well and I need not say I should be proud of your co-operation. I pledge you my word the work will be thoroughly respectable in every department and you will have no cause to blush for your place. Should you feel inclined to listen to my appeal a line will oblige at your leisure and I will address you more fully. I find all conspiring to afford me great hopes of success—at least I will *endeavour* to *deserve* it.

I cannot close this without offering you my grateful and warm thanks for having written such a book as 'Mary Barton.' The vivid *nature* portrayed in it goes home to the hearts of all and does more good than the

mumbled homilies of a thousand Priests. Your Genius is nobly directed and God speed it in its good work.

With most sincere respect and admiration I am Dear Madam,

Yours most truly

Eliza Cook.

Bidding farewell to this gallery of Victorian ladies, we return to the less effusive gentlemen. The leading exponents of Christian Socialism all contribute something. Two interesting letters from Kingsley were printed in his wife's memoir of him,¹ and need not be quoted here. J. M. Ludlow, in the postscript of a letter not otherwise interesting, 18 November, 1856, gives us a hint of the way in which 'muscular Christianity' may have been applied to the training of the young in Eversley Vicarage. "Do you know of a truthful young pugilist about 10 years old, who might be educated with young Maurice Kingsley, now of that age, at Eversley, under a German tutor, sharing the expense? Truth-speaking and the use of the fists the only *essential* qualifications. Maurice confiding his troubles to his mother, tells her she 'does not know what it is to want a boy to wrestle with.' " F. D. Maurice sends "a rather formidable volume," his *Lectures on the Unity of the New Testament*, 1854, with a letter drawing Mrs. Gaskell's attention to what he fears may seem a rather strange allusion to *Ruth* on page 630.² And finally, Thomas Hughes, author of *Tom Brown's Schooldays*, at the time a barrister in the Chancery Court, writes asking her if she cannot write a book "to prove to people that it doesn't in the least matter whether A or B or anybody else has any given piece of property? I wish you would." But that would have been a task more natural for a lawyer than for Mrs. Gaskell. He adds that he is glad to hear she will write for "our new Quarterly wherein everybody is to sign his or her name and write what he or she really believes." The first number was to come out in January, 1859.

¹ Fifth ed., 1877, i. 370; ii. 24-5.

² See *Ruth*, p. xiv, where the allusion is quoted. Emily Taylor writes during one of Mrs. G.'s London visits, "If you shd be prevented hearing Mr. Maurice on Sunday, I assure you he is *in general* heard to quite as great advantage (I think much more so) when lecturing in his class at Queen's College—on Monday morning."

V. RUSKIN, ROSSETTI, MONCKTON-MILNES, READE.

In the year 1857 Manchester suddenly became a place of pilgrimage for all who pretended to any interest in the arts. An Exhibition of the Art Treasures of the United Kingdom was opened by Prince Albert at Old Trafford on 5 May. It was visited by no less than 1,336,715 people, including the Queen, Prince Napoleon, the Poet Laureate, Nathaniel Hawthorne, and many other distinguished personages.¹ The year was remembered afterwards by Mrs. Gaskell as a criterion of busyness, visitors coming and going at her house day after day while she went on for ever.² It is only to be expected that the leading art-critic of the day found himself much occupied over this event, examining the exhibits, talking with friends, and lecturing. "Ruskin lectures here on the 10th and 13th [July] on our exhibition," Mrs. Gaskell writes to Norton, "It will be worth hearing." As the weeks went by the excitement gradually turned into weariness, as usually is the case with those who take Exhibitions too earnestly. On Wednesday, 30 September, she writes, "Really after long hard hot days at the Exhibition, showing the same great pictures over and over again to visitors, who have only time to look superficially at the whole collection, one does want to 'sulk and be silent' in the evenings."³ Ruskin seems to have felt much the same, but neither of them was too tired for visiting and being visited. The "Wednesday" of the following letter, as the sequel shows, was probably that on which Mrs. Gaskell had written to Norton:—

Palatine Hotel
Wednesday evening.

Dear Mrs Gaskell

If I were to come in about your tea-time tomorrow evening, should I find you at home?—I find I have more to do at the exhibition

¹ W. E. A. Axon, *Annals of Manchester*, 1886, pp. 271-2.

² Another Manchester event which filled Mrs. G.'s house was the meeting of the British Association there in September, 1861 (see *Letters to Norton*, pp. 75-6). There is a letter from Huxley in this collection regretfully declining an invitation to be her guest on that occasion.

³ *Letters to Norton*, pp. 6, 8, 13, 72. Norton himself had visited the Exhibition with the Gaskells immediately before returning to America, and wrote an article on it for the November number of the *Atlantic Monthly*.

than I supposed, and I come home tired and don't feel fit to go out to dine : but I get rested again by the time you have done dinner, as I suppose. Probably I may be obliged to leave Manchester with my work half done, as it is—but I hope—not without, one way or another, the pleasure of seeing you again. If you cannot take me tomorrow evening I would come to any part of the exhibition you tell me, at any hour after two tomorrow afternoon—but I could not stay for much chat, as I have found several kinds of things I have to look seriously over.

Most faithfully yours

J. Ruskin.

Sincere regards to Miss Gaskell.

But the weariness was too much for him. He forgot his appointment, precisely because, as he so carefully explains, he so much wanted to keep it. One may well suppose that by this time he had got into a state in which any topic might be regarded as “better than pictures”—otherwise the sentiment with which the letter closes was hardly natural to the Ruskin of 1857.

(Post-mark Manchester)

Oct 2 57

Dear Mrs Gaskell,

Just half an hour before the time of my pleasant appointment today, I met with a friend whom I have not seen for several years ;—We got into chat which put everything topsy-turvy in my head—and I only remembered my appointment three hours afterwards.—I tell you this not so much in mere courage of necessary truth telling, as in the belief that you will trust me for also telling you truth when I say that I often make mistakes of this kind when the appointment I forget is precisely the one in which I am most interested ; mere formal or discomfoting duties I set down in my note book—and they hang over my conscience till I have fulfilled them, like clouds, but when I say to myself ‘there’s no fear of my forgetting Mrs Gaskell’ ;¹ it is precisely that which comes to pass. And the worst of all is that I shall not now be able to see you at all, this time, having to leave tomorrow—Still—I could not have been good for much in any kind of way after these exhibition days ; I was wearied and confused—as the result of your kindness in coming to the exhibition yesterday shows too well—I hope to see you in London, where we can talk of something better than pictures—

Ever—with sincere regards to Miss Gaskell

Faithfully and respectfully yours

J Ruskin.

¹ At this point he originally wrote “or some such thing” but scored it out.

At the time of the Exhibition Mrs. Gaskell was evidently on terms of only polite acquaintance with Ruskin. But he entertained a high opinion of her work, and his later letters are a great deal more informal and intimate. One of them, bearing the postmark 2 April, 1859, is another confused apology, this time about a wheel (spinning wheel?) which Mrs. Gaskell had sent to the Ruskin family. He had been delaying his answer to her letter "in expectation of the wheel's arrival," not knowing that it had arrived long before. He now signs "affectionately yours." A year later, after the last volume of his *Modern Painters* had been given to the world, he writes yet another letter of apology:—

Denmark Hill
Camberwell.
27th Oct (p.m. 1860)

Dear Mrs Gaskell

When I used to have something to do, I kept some order; now that I've nothing to do, I'm entirely demoralized, and all the house is in a litter, and I live in it like a squirrel in a lot of nutshells—(I would use a less complimentary comparison—only then you might think you were expected to contradict it)—caring about nothing in all the wood—I really thought, however, that I had answered Meta's letter—which I considered—as I do all news from Plymouth Grove—a nut; and I'm sure the envelope of it will turn up among Docketed Shells, some day.—But I was thrown into a good deal of arrear and confusion by an accident which happened to my mother two months ago, a fall, breaking neck of thighbone. She is getting better, and the cure promises to be more complete than is usually the case, but I've had a good deal of anxiety about her, at first, and various work and letter writing in consequence out of my way: not to speak of having to read Evangelical books to her, and as if I liked them, too (in order to keep her comfortable at all about the state of my mind)—and going in consequence swearing about the house for some hours afterwards.

Mother being now generally in a state of progress; and I hope—'Boston's fourfold state' being likely in consequence to come to a standstill—I shall perhaps have temper enough to look at Meta's drawings without saying anything savage—so please let them come—(to address on this note)—as soon as may be—I shall really have great pleasure in looking over them and believe me ever with sincere remembrance to Mr Gaskell—and repentances—no less sincere—to Meta—And the creamiest of tender messages to Puss.

Ever faithfully and affectionately yours
J Ruskin.

Still later in date is the letter quoted by Ward (not in the present collection) in his introduction to *Cranford*, page xxiv : " I have just been reading ' *Cranford* ' out to my Mother. She has read it about 5 times ; but the first time I tried, I flew into a passion at Captain Brown's being killed and wouldn't go any further—but this time my Mother coaxed me past it—and then I enjoyed it mightily. I do not know when I have read a more finished little piece of study of human nature. . . . Nor was I ever more sorry to come to a book's end."

A visit to the great Manchester Exhibition was one of the minor unfulfilled intentions of Dante Gabriel Rossetti. In 1857 he was almost 30, beginning to be widely spoken of as painter and poet, and not yet married to Elizabeth Siddal. He did not go to the Exhibition because he with William Morris and others were busy giving an exhibition of their own in the Oxford Union, an exhibition of how not to paint frescoes. A reference to that unfortunate enterprise enables us to date the following letter in the first half of 1858. He had not yet made Mrs. Gaskell's acquaintance personally, but was to do so within the course of the next year :—

14 Chatham Place
Blackfriars.

Dear Mrs. Gaskell,

I had the pleasure of a visit from your friend Mr. Bright, who brought me a very kind note of yours. I only hope, if you do visit London, it may not happen to be at a time when I am at Oxford again, as I shall have to be for some weeks during the long vacation, and where it seems I had the ill luck to miss seeing you last year. Nor did I ever make one in the world's visit to Manchester, where I had promised myself, among other pleasures, that of calling on you, but my Oxford work prevented me from going to the Fine Art palace at that last moment to which, as usual, I had put off my visit. I trust however I may not miss you this year in London, but may have the pleasure of showing you whatever I then have by me, which I trust will be more than at present.

Believe me,

dear Mrs. Gaskell,

Yours very faithfully

D G Rossetti

A letter to Norton records Mrs. Gaskell's impression of the painter when she met him in London in the early summer of the

following year. "I think we got to know Rossetti pretty well. I went three times to his studio, and met him at two evening parties—where I had a good deal of talk with him, always excepting the times when ladies with beautiful hair came in, when he was like the cat turned into a lady, who jumped out of bed and ran after a mouse. It did not signify what we were talking about or how agreeable I was if a particular kind of reddish brown, crêpe wavy hair came in, he was away in a moment struggling for an introduction to the owner of said head of hair. He is not as mad as a March hare, but hair-mad." But she says she had felt his pictures deeply.¹

On leaving London Mrs. Gaskell went for a month to a farm at Auchencairn on the Solway Firth, and to that address Rossetti's next letter was sent. He was then bestirring himself in the matter of those translations from the early Italian poets with which he had been occupied from time to time since the late forties. The Cavalcanti versions, owing to the obscurity of the originals, were among the most difficult to execute; had Rossetti known what has since been discovered, that not one of those poems was written by Cavalcanti at all, he would have been spared some of the laborious endeavours he describes in the letter. *The Early Italian Poets* was eventually printed in 1861, Rossetti's first volume:—

14 Chatham Place
Blackfriars, July 18th 59.

My dear Mrs. Gaskell

I must have seemed unthankful indeed for your first kind letter and kind offices with M. de Circourt.² The reason of my long delay in answering was that I was waiting for the return of the proof-sheets which now accompany this letter by book-post. I hope they will still be in time to share, in the measure of their deserts, the enviable destiny which you tell me awaits all missives in your *ultima Thule*, and of which your letter gives me so vivid a picture. The proofs contain the series of Cavalcanti's poems forming part of my book, the general title-page to which you will find at the end of them. I do not know whether you are acquainted with the *Vita Nuova* of Dante—his autobiography of his youth—or with such facts

¹ *Letters to Norton*, p. 38.

² See below, p. 166. I have not found the name elsewhere in connection with Rossetti; there is no reference to it in the historical matter of *The Early It. Poets*.

as are known about Cavalcanti—but these last you have probably gathered from M. de Circourt's papers, of which I hope now, relying on your mercy, not on my tardy deservings, to earn a sight. I must tell you, on behalf of my self-conceit, that the most laborious part of what I send you is not on the surface—having consisted in the arranging and rendering as far as might be comprehensible, this set of poems which are scattered in various editions without attempt of any kind to make sense of them either in the way they are printed or in their getting together :—so that much which is in fact commentary is embodied in the translations and headings, as I have tried as far as possible to dispense with the wearisome adjunct of notes. Short notices of Cavalcanti and some others among my Poets will be necessary, and these are the only portions of my work still left to do. But perhaps, after all, I am reckoning on much more attention than you will have time to bestow on my translations, since how do I know what work of your own may be occupying you at Auchencairn,—and reaping no doubt all the benefit of the healthy peace which your letter describes ? ¹ I have not been to one party since I saw you—it is a thing I can only pull myself up to about twice a Season—but have been working hard at my pictures all the time ; in an atmosphere, however, different indeed from yours—of London, and (alas at this season of the year !) of Thames.

I will not ask you how you like the *Guenevere* book, for I know for certain you must like it greatly by this time. It is a book, as you say, made for quiet places. With all its faults of youth, I must say I think the Arthurian part of it has much the advantage (in truth to the dramatic life of the old romance) over Tennyson's *Idyls of the King*, just out ; wonderful as of course these last are, in rhythm, in finish, in all modern perfections. Another poem of Tennyson's—the *Grandmother* in 'Once a Week,'—seems more really in his highest vein to my feeling. Nothing finer could be written surely of its kind.

I have read two vols. of *Adam Bede* ²—a real book as well as a new one. My brother tells me you are in the secret of its authorship—but that is no reason that he or I should be, you will say. And now, good bye for the present, with kindest remembrances to the Misses Gaskell, and not without such envy as I must needs bear you on this stagnant morning, when I feel bottled and corked down in Thames water, and when the very water cart going by my window seems by contrast fresher than the falls of Lodore—

Ever sincerely yours

D G Rossetti.

P.S. I was actually omitting my thanks to M. de Circourt, whose letter I return.

¹ Mrs. G.'s holiday at Auchencairn is described also in the letter to Norton cited above.

² Published 1859.

Rossetti's praise of *The Grandmother* will not surprise those who remember the Preraphaelite belief in simple subjects taken from contemporary life, such as Rossetti himself had treated in *My Sister's Sleep*. This theoretical attitude, together with the growing reaction against Tennyson's reputation, must have led him to praise this poem in which the Laureate is seen without his singing robes in a vein of sentimental pathos such as he had exhibited in *The May Queen*. On the other hand, while Rossetti's qualification amounts to a good deal, few will now disagree with his comparison between Morris's *Defence of Guenevere* poems (1858) and Tennyson's *Idylls* which began to appear in 1859. At the time many might have disagreed. Caroline Norton wrote to Mrs. Gaskell from Edinburgh in February of this year: "I have just had a great solemn treat in hearing Tennyson read his new poem of Guenever's repentance;—Better than 10,000 sermons played to angels' harps. No woman could ever do wrong who heard it. There is in it a 'song' (of the Bridegroom in Scripture)

' Too late—too late—you cannot enter in '

that is marvellous for beauty and for pain."

The last of Rossetti's letters in the collection has several interesting passages. It refers to that projected volume of original poems which was long postponed through his wife's death and his desperate remorseful burying of the manuscript. There is also a touch of uneasiness over the encroachment of his literary ambitions on his career as a painter—did he recollect as he wrote these words, his father's complaints in earlier days? And at the end there is a reference to Christina Rossetti's *Goblin Market* volume, 1862, the first real success of the so-called Preraphaelite group of poets. As long ago as January, 1861, Rossetti had had an idea of sending 'the Goblins' (i.e. the single poem) to Mrs. Gaskell "who is good-natured and appreciative, and might get it into the *Cornhill* or elsewhere."¹ Whether he did so or not, it never appeared in any periodical.

¹ *Life and Letters*, 1895, ii. 165.

14 Chatham Place
Blackfriars
17 Dec. 1861.

My dear Mrs. Gaskell

I know one has no right to beg and lose and beg again, but in the troublesome delay as to getting my book of 'Italian Poets' out, I have lost Monsieur de Circourt's address which you kindly sent me before. So might I again trouble you for it, as I should like to send him a copy now that the volume is fairly launched at last. I am very limited as to the number of copies at my disposal, or it would have been a great pleasure to accompany this note with one for your acceptance. Do you know, though, I am going to bring out some original doings in verse before long, and hope then to make amends to all friends to whom I could not send this, as no doubt the edition will belong only too much to myself.

Should you happen to know the address of the Revd. Mr Scott, late of Owens College, Manchester,¹ I would be greatly obliged for that also. Nor do I know his Christian name.

This is giving you a great deal of trouble which I rely on your kindness to pardon. I hope you will not fancy that I neglect my painting for any literary attempts. My sins of the latter kind are all old ones, and only now call for confession, and if it may be, absolution.

I shall hope some day to have another welcome visit from yourself and your daughters when in London, and must trust to be ready then with something worth showing, which (the words recall to me with dismay) would be too little the case at present.

My sister, too, has a little volume of Poems nearly ready (Macmillan publishing) which, I have no doubt, will notify its appearance to you in person.

Believe me, dear Mrs. Gaskell,
Yours ever sincerely
D G Rossetti.

I would have been strange if the collection had not contained letters from Richard Monckton Milnes, who made it his business to know everybody. Mrs. Gaskell counted him as a friend from as early as 1849 when she once breakfasted at his house,² and it is he who is reputed to have said that Mrs. Gaskell's presence in Manchester alone made that town possible as a residence for people of literary taste.³ He writes from the House of Commons on 1 May, [1854?], having just returned from France where he had found so much political discontent "that it tainted

¹ A. J. Scott, 1805-1866, first Principal of Owens College, 1851-57.

² *M. of 2 S.*, p. 42.

³ *Mary Barton*, p. xxxvi.

all society and made even ordinary intercourse uncomfortable. The nation gave up its liberties to get rest and money—and now they have got both despotism and war which they did not bargain for.” The war presumably was the Crimean. When he next wrote the Indian Mutiny had begun :—

Bognor

Sussex

Sept. 16 [1857]

. . . I am just returned from the Continent, where I have been staying in the country with M. Guizot. He begged to be remembered to you and to express his continued admiration of all you write.¹

You may be sure you have had my full sympathy in your late troubles. I was certainly averse to your bringing out the ‘*Life*’² so soon, foreseeing that some such adventure as has happened was inevitable. These troubles will soon pass away, and it will only be remembered that you have contributed to our literature one of the best of Biographies, and have proved the membership of your friend to the divine family, of which such as Burns, Chatterton, and Keats are representatives.

I hope you have no relatives or near friends in India : one can think of little else now. I take it as a personal disappointment, having made myself believe that our civilising mission there had been more successful and was an example to the rest of the world.

With best regards to your family from Mrs Milnes and myself,

I am,

Yrs very truly

Richd. Monckton Milnes

Monckton Milnes was raised to the peerage as Lord Houghton in 1863. There are two other notes in that year, one on 21 December saying that he intended to call the next day, and another on the 23rd sending a *jeu d’esprit* which he had evidently mentioned to the Gaskells during his visit. It is a printed piece of verse called *A Literary Squabble* and signed J. R. P. ; the letters of the alphabet in session quarrel about the pronunciation of Houghton—Hooton, Hawton, Hofton, Huffton, Hoton, Howton. The owner of that doubtful name remarks in his note that the verses omit the usual Yorkshire version of Ooton.

¹ See below, p. 167. Mrs. G. had met him at Monckton-Milnes’ house in 1849.

² Of Charlotte Brontë.

Rossetti alone among the correspondents represents the new movement in poetry ; the only forward looking novelist among them is Charles Reade. His letter is dated only Nov. 13, but he was obviously at the beginning of his career. *Peg Woffington* and *Christie Johnstone* in 1853 had a discouraging reception ; *It is never too late to mend*, 1856, which founded his fame, was also received with abuse in some quarters, and the present letter may belong to that date.¹

28A Regent St.

Nov. 13.

Madam,

You see by my date I have tried to obey you and take no notice of your generous little note : and now you see I have failed at last : how shall I excuse myself ? I think I can read you, and I think the Truth will be an excuse with you.

Thus then it is : it makes me uneasy, almost unhappy not to thank you for your valued note : I feel so churlish so ungrateful while I am silent—these feelings are not pleasant :—do you accept my excuse ?—

I perfectly comprehend you dear Madam : an infinitesimal quill-driver was, you think, unjust to me a novice and this has made you more than just to me ; and with respect to a single passage less than just to two ladies who write that sort of thing much better than I shall ever do it : you will let me accept in full your kind-ness, and *modify your praise*.

But I am not likely to forget that the Authoress of 'Mary Barton' has discovered a touch of Nature in one of my works and encourages me to proceed. This does cheer me, as you intended it should, and I will own to you that I write with great difficulty, and often faint by the way. So then you will know that words of encouragement from such a quarter are no inconsiderable boon to me : and I hope you will not regret having cast a flower upon my path.

I am Madam

Your very faithful Servt.

Charles Reade.

VI. BUNSEN, MAX MÜLLER AND FROUDE ; OXFORD AND SOME ACADEMIC FRIENDS.

In the summer of 1849 Mrs. Gaskell spent some weeks at Mill Brow, Skelwith, near Ambleside.² While there she received a letter from Baron Bunsen, whose acquaintance she had

¹ C. L. and C. Reade, *Charles Reade*, London, 1887, ii. 26-32.

² See a reference to this party in Crabb Robinson, Sunday, 14 October, 1849.

made in the same year, recommending his "dear young friend Max Müller, one of our most distinguished, pure, and amiable young men." The famous philologist had come to England in 1846 with an introduction to Bunsen, subsequently becoming one of his intimate friends; and he settled in Oxford in 1848. Meanwhile he was recommended to her also by another recently made friend, J. A. Froude. The latter happened also to be staying at Skelwith at the time with the Dukinfield Darbishires, having undertaken the post of tutor to their sons for a year.¹

Skelwith, Sunday morning.

My dear Mrs Gaskell

Müller (my German about whom I have raved to you) is with me. He is Bunsen's friend as well as mine, and Bunsen as well as I (and yourself in your own Book) has made him anxious to pay his respect to you.

May I take the liberty of bringing him to call this afternoon.

I fear this is forcing him on you—hardly leaving you the alternative.

But pray believe there is the alternative and if you had rather not do not hesitate to say so.

faithfully yours

J. A. Froude.

While I am asking favours I forget to be modest. I have another friend with me *Morier*,² in like predicament as regards wishing to see you. I cannot promise *you* as much pleasure from seeing him as I am sure you will feel in seeing Müller. He is only an honest warm polished Englishman. I am taking terrible liberties, but you owe something to your readers if you will write books and I am not bringing lion hunters.

The arrival of this youthful and high-spirited party is recalled by Max Müller in a letter written much later, after 1857, when Mrs. Gaskell had paid her first visit to Oxford. "As you seem to doubt whether I remember our first meeting at the Lakes, may I ask whether you remember the German Serenade with which we disturbed your slumber,—Mr. Froude, Mr. Morier and myself—when we arrived in the middle of the night at Skelwith? It seems to me like yesterday:—you need not be frightened however, for I think I may promise that when I come

¹ *M. of 2 S.*, p. 47; see also pp. 45-6 from which it appears that Mrs. G. had recently seen him in Manchester.

² Possibly (Sir) Robert Morier, 1826-93, afterwards a well-known diplomatist; a Balliol man.

to Manchester, I shall announce my arrival in a less noisy manner. I thought there was some hope of your paying us another and a longer visit at Oxford. When is that to be?" In another letter, 14 August, 1864, enclosing a little poem of his composition in the Schleswig dialect, he recurs to the Skelwith serenade, "You are not at all safe against being disturbed by another Serenade, and though the Serenades of three little daughters sometimes disturb an old father's slumbers, yet his heart is, I believe, as light as it was fifteen years ago."

There are five other letters from Froude, but none of them of much interest. He writes on 5 January, 1862, with regard to a certain Cosmo Innes¹ whom Mrs. Gaskell had been introducing to the Circourts: "As to his knowing what Mary Queen of Scots was like, I believe he—or any one else—as much knows it as they know what Titania is like. She was one of those curious people whose features are seen in their mind, an 'enchanted' person in the literal sense of the word. Men did not see *her*—they stopped short in the idea which she produced in their imagination and therefore no two of them saw her exactly alike." Another letter, 20 October, 1863, written partly in his capacity as editor of *Fraser's Magazine*, welcomes her *French Life* which appeared there in 1864. Longman, he says, has bought the periodical and it may now be possible to offer her "something better in the way of pay than under the old régime." Meanwhile his second wife was recovering from the birth of her first child, luckily a boy, and not likely to make the two little half-sisters jealous; and the seventh and eighth volumes of his great *History* were about to be published.

The visit to Oxford mentioned above was instigated, Mrs. Gaskell tells Norton, by him and Ruskin, and by Lady Hatherton.² The latter, Lord Hatherton's second wife, had been Caroline Davenport of Macclesfield; her family had been long known to the Gaskells. Lord Hatherton himself encouraged the visit in a letter from Teddesley, 8 November, 1857.

¹ See below, p. 166.

² *Letters to Norton*, pp. 13-14.

My dear Mrs Gaskell,

The enclosed belong to you.—You really ought to contrive to stay a few days at Oxford. A week would not be too long—I only now ask you not to fix any day for your Departure till you have seen Dr Wellesley.¹

You will be surprised and greatly engaged by his learning and information on all subjects—and especially by his feeling for Art—and his acquaintance with its History. There is nothing he does not know or rout out. And then what a Head and brow he has ! Besides knowing as much Greek and Latin as is necessary for any useful purpose, he is the first Italian in Italy—and a thorough Frenchman of course—

Then you will see and know Jeune, the master of Pembroke—a learned man—a bold and original thinker—the author and leader of all the recent movements for Academical Reform—and who if he had been a little more complacent in manner—would long ago have been a Bishop ²—Both these men are valuable acquaintances for you to make—

Henry Wellesley will find you a Carriage for your exclusive use all day, as long as you stay—and will I doubt not relieve you of much of the expense attending Eating and Drinking.

You really must stay over Sunday next—and hear the peculiar Services of the Place.

H. Wellesley's Evening Party on Wednesday—will set you going—You will glide with the stream from that Launch at once—a genuine Leviathan—and no hitch.

Caroline will write to Jeune about you.

Very sincerely yours
Hatherton.

You *must* stay

The visit was duly paid. Mrs. Gaskell did not see Jeune, but managed to see a surprising number of other people in the course of twenty-four hours — Wellesley, Arthur Stanley,³ Matthew Arnold (“getting ready for his inaugural poetry lecture”), The Aclands, the Brodies, and Conington. She heard Stanley lecture, and was not very interested ; she was rushed up and down and round about by Wellesley till she was quite bewildered. After ten days she returned for another night, this time meeting Jowett, Mark Pattison, Aurelio Saffi, and Max Müller, and hearing Temple, the new master of Rugby,

¹ Henry Wellesley, Principal of New Inn Hall. He was Lord Hatherton's brother-in-law.

² Francis Jeune, afterwards V.C. of the University ; became Bishop of Peterborough, 1864. The ablest man of business at Oxford in his day (*D.N.B.*).

³ There is an undated note from him in the collection.

preach in St. Mary's in the morning. Mrs. Gaskell returned to Plymouth Grove full of delightful though somewhat confused recollections, and feeling "Mediaeval, that is *un* Manchester and *un* American."¹ On a second visit to Oxford in 1860, while she and her husband stayed with the Brodies, her two daughters were welcomed by the mathematician Henry Smith, Fellow of Balliol, and within the next year Savilian Professor of Geometry.² His hospitality was soon afterwards returned in Manchester, and on his return to Oxford he wrote as follows (29 September, 1861): ". . . Oxford is slowly waking from its long vacation sleep, and people are beginning to return, with newly acquired beards and moustaches from their continental tours. . . . I have ventured to send you a little volume (which I did *not* see lying on your drawingroom table) containing a collection of English Lyric Poetry, edited by Frank Palgrave. I own I am not quite disinterested in making you this present, as I am anxious to advertise the book far and wide among my friends, for Palgrave's sake. However, I hope that you will be pleased with it, if you have not already seen it." Palgrave too was a Balliol man; his *Golden Treasury* had just appeared, 1861.

With Cambridge Mrs. Gaskell seems to have had little to do, but there is at least a letter³ from Whewell, the famous master of Trinity, who had been moved to write by discovering a similarity in situation between a passage in *Mary Barton* and one in Goethe's *Hermann and Dorothea*, translated by Whewell in the *English Hexameter Translations*, 1847, which he had recently edited. "Will you allow me to offer you a little volume of which I was editor and part author as a testimony of good will and of the pleasure I have had in making the acquaintance of a person who does our common county so much honour. I should hardly have ventured to do so, if I had not thought that you might be interested to see, in *Herman* [*sic*] and *Dorothea* (which I deem to be the finest poem of our time) an incident much resembling one of the most touching ones in *Mary Barton*; I mean the woman's declaration of her love forced from her by despair. It is in the last book of *Herman and Dorothea*."

¹ *Letters to Norton*, pp. 14-16.

² *Ibid.*, p. 53.

³ 12 May, 1849. See p. 106, n. 3.

VII. LETTERS FROM AMERICAN AND FRENCH WRITERS.

The very English quality and sometimes localised interest of Mrs. Gaskell's work did not prevent her having many admirers in America and even on the Continent. Her books had American editions, and Tauchnitz editions, and translations into French, German, and other languages; through them and through personal contacts she made friends in several countries. Among her American relationships that with C. E. Norton has been sufficiently illuminated by the collection of letters so often quoted in this article. Mrs. Gaskell first met him at Rome in 1857 through William Wetmore Story, the American sculptor and man of letters, the centre of a varied and interesting circle of friends.¹ There is a letter from him in the present collection, written 29 June, 1861, when he and his family were on the move for Geneva; Mr. Gaskell had proposed to visit them at their villa near Siena, but he would be welcome wherever they were. Could not Mrs. Gaskell contrive to accompany him? But Mr. Gaskell, although wanting a companion, did not "wish to have any responsibility during his holidays." He set off alone, and after wandering up and down in a most odd and erratic way, eventually tracked down the Storys and stayed ten days with them.²

Charlotte Cushman the actress has already been mentioned. John Gorham Palfrey, historian and Unitarian minister, who was in England in 1853, was evidently consulted by Mrs. Gaskell about the documentation of *Lois the Witch*; there is a letter from him in which he offers to hunt up relevant material upon his return to America. Finally, we have a letter of some length from the American authoress most widely read in England then and for some time to come, Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe. Mrs. Gaskell met her first at a lunch with the Milmans in London, 1853, and was to see her again in Manchester, in June, 1857,

¹ See *W. W. Story and his Friends*, by Henry James, Boston, 1903. Among them was Aubrey de Vere, who writes to Mrs. G. from 50 Piazza di Spagna, on 1 April [1857]: "If you have not already the Photograph I send you, pray accept it as a little memorial of our visit to the cloisters of the 'Beloved Disciple' yesterday." . .

² *Letters to Norton*, pp. 87 and 94.

paying in fact her first visit to the Exhibition in company with her.¹ The following letter falls between the two meetings.

Boston, May 24th. 56.

Mrs Gaskill [sic]

My dear Friend

Permit me to introduce to your notice and regard Mr and Mrs Webb my personal friends.²

Mrs Webb is the daughter of a 'fugitive Slave': her freedom was secured by a heroic effort on the part of her mother a short time previous to her birth. She was born in New Bedford in one of the New England states, and subsequently was sent to Cuba: where she passed [sic] her earlier years. She has a decided genius for elocution and as a Dramatic Reader has attained considerable celebrity in our nothen [sic] states.

Her success is attested by hundreds of notices from the pens of the most competent critics in this country, and her eminent ability has succeeded [sic] in breaking down many of the barriers which prejudice [sic] has reared, and procured her invitations to read from even Pro-Slavery Lyceums and pro-Slavery presses have been compelled to forego their usual sneers at the capability of her race and admit her to be possessed of genius and culture of no common order.

I have recently dramatised *Uncle Toms Cabin* expressly for her reading and her rendering of the various characters of the book has been pronounced unequalled [sic].

Mr Webb is a gentleman of talent and culture and any assistance or attention you may bestow upon them will be well-merited by them and be regarded by me as a personal favour.

I take a deep interest in their success in England professionally not only from feelings of warm personal friendship but also that it will advance the antislavery cause in this country by showing how much talent lies concealed in their midst. The talent for elocution and for singing is one which exists to a great extent in the mixed races particularly where as in the present case the mixture is with the warmer blood of Southern nations (Mrs. W's father was a Spaniard). I am sure that should you hear her read you could not but be delighted and surprised at what must strike you as new and piculiar [sic] in her voice and rendering.

I must say in closing that I and my twin daughters read your 'North and South' with so much enthusiasm that it was decreed at the time that mamma should write you an expression of thanks, but Time as he often does stole the pen till the moment of first love was past—but I will not deny

¹ *Letters to Norton*, p. 3; *North and South*, p. xxi; H. B. Stowe's *Sunny Mems. of Foreign Lands*, London, 1854, letter xxviii.

² Since the envelope of this letter has no stamp, it may be supposed that the Webbs arrived at Plymouth Grove in due course, bringing the letter with them.

myself the memory of it now. I *do hope* I may be permitted to see you this summer, I hope to be in England and *somewhere* perhaps we may meet—You have made me cry very unfairly over Mary Barton when I bought the book to amuse myself with on a journey—but I bear no malice for that.

With true affection

Ever yours gratefully

H B Stowe.

A much less familiar name though one fairly well known in mid-Victorian England is that of the Swedish novelist, Fredrika Bremer. She was doubtless brought into contact with Mrs. Gaskell by the Howitts—Mary Howitt translated some of her books. In the autumn of 1849 she visited America, returning through England and apparently calling on (or perhaps staying with) the Gaskells on her way. There is a letter from Fairfield, 19 October, 1851,¹ which in its quaint English shows as much moral earnestness as any of the Eliza Cooks and Mrs. Craiks of contemporary England.

Bless you, Elizabeth for your kind heart and all the good and genial influences with which it has surrounded me on my way, all from our meeting in your home! In persons, in books, in letters I have felt it most thankfully. Your friends have been most amiable and useful to me in the informations they have given me, especially the Chadwicks, your books will go with me to my fatherland as dear friends that I there will learn thoroughly to understand, being able to live with them, as time here will not allow off. In your kind letters it is precious to me to see that my written home² has been something to your living one. For such purpose, indeed, was it written. I wished to make the picture so that every house, great or small, could have room for it. But I am well aware of that my story of home is only one part of the ideal home, and that *the home* has a higher aim, higher destinies to fulfil. I have hinted at these in the story of brothers and sisters,³ but imperfectly, and with the mind still crammed by old prejudices. The morning-dews of a new world⁴ have fallen on my soul since then, and have developed latent seeds; seeds that long have kept secretly swelling in my mind. God give them power to grow in his light, and I will do a better work than hitherto, or, at least, I will build an

¹ Miss Dullemen gives this date inaccurately as 17 October, 1857; the year looks like 1857 on the letter but the postmark is quite clear. See p. 106, n. 3.

² *The Home, or Life in Sweden*, trans. by Mary Howitt, London, 1846.

³ *Brothers and Sisters*, trans. by same, London, 1848.

⁴ This presumably means that she acquired a higher idea of "the home" from her travels in America.

upper story to my house. Kind friends that took me to your house and home pray with me that the work may be a good one.

Certainly, Elisabeth, I will write to you, when I again am in my own house and home, surrounded by swedish nature and swedish life ; I will tell you how that is, in its best and in its worst. So I wanted to look at your Mill and Manufactory-life, so, I think, we should look at all things, then so we can know how to grow, and what is growing, and what is wanting. So I would, in every book, have the heavens and the hells of things, and between them purgatories, and other intermediate realms and means of purification and grace.

When I am at home, I shall study Mary Barton and learn of her ; then a story over which *Statesmen weep* must have power in it for the good of the people.

Goodbye, for a while, kind Elisabeth, love to those you love from your thankful friend.

Fredrika Bremer.

Kind remembrances to the Taylors and the Schwabes.

Finally there are a number of letters from French correspondents. The longest are from de Circourt (Anna-Marie-Joseph Albert conte de Circourt), a scholar of various learning whose chief work was concerned with the Moors in Spain. His wife held a well-known and much frequented salon in Paris ; Mrs. Gaskell knew her well, and describes her in a long, graceful and glowing passage of *French Life*.¹ As we have seen Rossetti applied to M. de Circourt for assistance when preparing the *Early Italian Poets*, and sent him a copy of the book. "I will receive with great pleasure and gratefulness," says the French scholar in a letter of 27 April, 1861, "the interesting volume of Mr. Rossetti and I thank you very much for your kindness in giving my direction to the learned author." For the rest the letters² were written to supply Mrs. Gaskell with historical information on various subjects and need not here be reproduced. The first concerns a pretended heroine of the revolutionary wars, a so-called Madame de Cachet, whose supposed existence Circourt characterises as "a monstrous lie." The second, 23 March, 1862, extends a welcome to Cosmo Innes, the Edinburgh antiquary,³ and meanwhile supplies him with information

¹ *Cousin Phyllis*, pp. 643-5.

² They are all in English.

³ He was Professor of Constitutional Law and History at Edinburgh.

about old French titles. "My wife," the letter goes on, "remains in the very same state, always struggling with great resignation and serenity against the perhaps irremediable and in some way increasing pains brought upon her by her dreadful accident.¹ She is now reading with great satisfaction the fine translation made by Miss Senior of Tocqueville's remains,² together with extracts from Mr. Senior's diary, relating to his conversations with our departed friends.³ Some of the (till now) inedited passages are beautiful; some do bear the impression of the transient emotions and the delusions of our passionate age. In general, the sagacity of Tocqueville for looking into futurity was not equal to his deep insight into the human heart and his retrospective knowledge of the past." Ward has quoted a further passage from this letter imploring Mrs. Gaskell to give more of her exquisite compositions to the world; but the date is not as Ward says the autumn of 1861.⁴ The third letter, of 15 April, 1862, records the actual arrival of Cosmo Innes, "a most agreeable and upright gentleman," and continues the remarks about French titles to which the enquiries of Innes had given rise. Less than a year after this Madame de Circourt died; Mrs. Gaskell had been at her house only a fortnight before, and hearing the news with great grief lamented with many others for the husband "who has lived but for her, who has watched over her so constantly."

The long period of unproductivity which de Circourt complained of, and which was really occasioned by Mrs. Gaskell's disinclination for composition after her adventure into biography, is mentioned also by Guizot in the letter of 23 May, 1862, partly quoted by Ward (*Ruth*, p. xi). This letter also begins with Cosmo Innes and his researches in Paris. It goes on:

"J'ai été très sensible à votre aimable souvenir. Rien de ce qui vous arrive ou de ce que vous faites ne saurait m'être indifférent. Il y a bien longtems que vous n'avez rien publié.

¹ See above, p. 145, n. 2.

² *Journals kept in French and Italian from 1848 to 1852*, 1871.

³ *Correspondence and Conversations of Alexis de T. with N. W. Senior*, 1871. Presumably Mme. de Circourt was reading these two works in manuscript.

⁴ *Wives and Daughters*, p. xxix.

Ne nous donnerez-vous pas bientôt quelque nouvel ouvrage ? Je ne connais point de roman qui m'ait ému aussi profondément que *Ruth*, et point de Biographie qui m'ait intéressé aussi vivement que celle de Charlotte Brontë.

"Mes filles vous prient de leur conserver les bons sentimens que vous me témoignez pour elles."¹

"Croyez moi toujours most sincerely and respectfully yours
"Guizot."

Among other French acquaintances was Prosper Mérimée, who mentions Mrs. Gaskell in a letter to Mrs. Mohl among the autographs. To conclude with an even greater name, on 25 July, 1868, after Mrs. Gaskell's death, Victor Hugo wrote a testimonial to the valuable social work of one of her daughters.

"On m'a communiqué tous les détails relatifs à la cuisine pour les pauvres établie à Manchester sous l'intelligente et généreuse direction de Miss J. Gaskell. Je ne puis trop recommander aux bons coeurs cette institution excellente."²

Those who have had the patience to read through these mid-Victorian letters will not, I fear, think themselves rewarded with any new and striking information. Yet the writers, if they say nothing of special interest, do at least write in character, so that this collection has something of the nature of an anthology. Certainly as one turns from one letter to another, reflecting on the characters and achievements of their long dead writers, the literature and history of the period pass like a pageant through the mind. Carlyle, who advises Mrs. Gaskell to be concise, is toiling through the thirty-one volumes of his works ; Ruskin, deep in art, geology, and political economy, forgets to keep his appointments and to answer his letters ; talented young ladies are filling the circulating libraries with their vision of the world, three volumes at a time, and in order to do so have begun to assert a startling independence ; Mrs. Browning has fled from Wimpole Street and tyranny to Casa Guidi, freedom, and donkey-riding in the Apennines ; Rossetti's frescoes are glowing out

¹ Guizot's daughters had published a French translation of *Ruth* in 1856.

² This testimonial seems to have been secured and forwarded by H. de Mouilpied, an official in the Customs at Guernsey.

their brief year or two of life in the Oxford Union ; Manchester for a few surprising months becomes a place of pilgrimage for all lovers of the arts ; and while even the Crimean War and the Indian Mutiny hardly shake public confidence in England's well-being and her civilising mission, sensitive minds of all classes are growing yearly more deeply concerned about the real state of the people, so faithfully described in the pages of that quiet and unpretentious writer to whom these letters were addressed.

"LE PÈLERINAGE DE VIE HUMAINE" BY
GUILLAUME DE DEGUILEVILLE.

WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE FRENCH MS. 2 OF THE
JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY.

By MARION LOFTHOUSE, M.A.

THE three poems contained in Rylands French MS. 2 are the work of Guillaume de Deguileville, a Cistercian monk of the Royal Abbey of Chaalis, founded in the twelfth century near to the town of Senlis. According to the dates given in these poems Deguileville was born about 1295, and was still living in 1358.

The poems describe three pilgrimages: "Le Pelerinaige du Corps Humain,"¹—man's journey through life (1330-1333); "Le Pelerinaige de l'Ame"—the journey of the soul when separated from the body (1355); and "Le Pelerinaige Jhesu-crist"—the life of Christ, according to the four gospels (1358). In addition to these French poems Deguileville wrote many Latin hymns, three of which are incorporated in the first poem—"Credo ego catholicus," "Pater, creator omnium," and "Ave reclinatorium."² He would have preferred to write all his poems in Latin, but wrote the pilgrimages in French so that the laity might understand them, though this caused him "ennui, grevance et destourbance."

The first pilgrimage which is our chief concern, is to some extent autobiographical. The Pilgrim is the author himself, who, having fallen asleep after reading *Le Roman de la Rose* sees in his dream the Holy City, Jerusalem, and resolves to go

¹ This first pilgrimage is described variously as "Le Pèlerinage de Vie Humaine," "Le Pèlerinage du Corps Humain," and "Le Pèlerinage de l'homme."

² These three poems are printed along with others attributed to Guileville by Dreves: *Lateinische Hymnendichter des Mittelalters* (Leipzig 1905), i, 321-409, from the MS. 1612, Bibliothèque de Troyes, and MS. 3897, Cod. Mazarin.

there. As he is about to begin his journey, a lady of rare beauty, Grace of God, appears and takes him to her house where he hears the story of the creation and fall of man. Here he is baptised and confirmed. He then meets Moses whom Grace of God allows to change the bread and wine into flesh and blood. This change is contrary to the laws of Nature, who rebukes Grace of God, but who is finally confuted by Penitence and Charity who come to instruct the Pilgrim and to read to him the Testament of Jesus Christ.

After many discussions concerning the Eucharist, and a dialogue between Aristotle and Wisdom, Grace of God offers to the Pilgrim a scrip, a staff and knightly armour. The Pilgrim, however, is so burdened by this armour that he refuses it and takes only the scrip and staff and David's sling and five stones. Grace of God now leaves the Pilgrim and he sets out on his journey. His path bristles with difficulties. All the passions, each personified, beset him. He combats them all, but rarely with success, and it is left to Grace of God to extricate him from their toils and put him once more on the right path from which he again wanders as soon as he is left to journey alone.

His encounters are very varied. He meets Natural Understanding, a coarse fellow who frightens him very much. Reason comes to his aid, and then tells him at great length that she must separate his soul from his body so that he may clearly understand that body and soul are separate entities. When his soul has been replaced in his body he continues his journey and arrives at a forked path, guarded by Idleness and Toil. The Pilgrim naturally chooses the wrong path and falls among his enemies, Sloth, Pride, Flattery, Envy, Treachery, Anger, Detraction, Avarice and Venus. But he is always saved, sometimes by Grace of God and Reason, sometimes by his scrip or staff, and sometimes by the prayers which he repeats. After he has washed in the tub filled with the tears of Penitence, he meets Satan, Heresy, Youth and lastly Tribulation who reads to him the commissions of Adonai and Satan. Once more his enemies fall upon him, but Grace of God rescues him and leads him to the Ship of Religion, where he chooses as his dwelling the

monastery of the Cistercians. Here the ladies Sobriety, Discipline and Obedience welcome him, but to his horror he sees Old Age and Infirmary who are coming to prepare him for Death. Pity appears to comfort him but she cannot save him from Death, who strikes him with her scythe and separates his soul from his body. Happily the monastery bells ring for matins and the Pilgrim thankfully awakes :—

La Mort lascia sa faus courir
 Et fist m'ame du cors partir,
 Ce me sembla (si) com songoie.
 Mais ainsi comme je estoie
 En tel point et en tel tourment
 J'oui l'orloge de convent
 Qui pour les matines sonnoit
 Si comme de coustume estoit.
 Quant je l'oui, je m'esveillai,
 Et tout tressuant me trouvai,
 Et pour mon songe fu pensis
 Mont grandement et esbahis.
 Toutevoies je me levai,
 Et au[s] matines j'e alai,
 Mais (si) afflit et las estoie
 Que rien faire (je) n'i pouoie.
 Mon cuer avoie tout fchie
 A ce que j'avoie songie :
 Avis m'estoit et encor est
 Que tel le pelerinage est
 D'omme mortel en cest pais.
 Et qu'est souvent en tex peris
 Et pour ce'en escript mis je l'ai
 En la guise que le songai,
 Non pas que g'i aie tout mis,
 Quar trop lonc seroit li escriis.

(ll. 13,491-13,516.)¹

¹ *Le Pèlerinage de Vie humaine*, ed. J. J. Stürzinger (London, 1893). Dr. Stürzinger (p.v.) uses the following signs :—

() enclosing letters or words in text "t" (Bibl. Nat. fonds français no. 1818) which should be omitted as inconsistent with the meaning, grammar or metre. e.g. ll. 15, 75.

[] enclosing letters or words in text "t" which for a like reason should be added from other MSS. or conjectural emendations, e.g. ll. 60, 100.

By italics when other words have been substituted from other MSS. or by conjecture from those in text "t". If only part of the word is in italics, the italicized letters stand for an abbreviation in MS. "t."

This poem was inspired by the reading of the *Roman de la Rose* :—

En veillant avoie lëu
 Considere et bien vëu
 Le biau roumans de la Rose.
 Bien croi que ce fu la chose
 Qui plus m'esmut a ce songier
 Que ci apres vous vueil nuncier.

(ll. 7-14, Stürzinger.)

In arrangement, and more particularly in the descriptions of some of the characters there are certain points of resemblance in the two poems. Guillaume de Lorris, describing Sloth says :—

E, por garder que ses mains blanches
 Ne halassent, ot uns blans ganz.

(ll. 562-563.)¹

whilst Deguileville describes her thus

. . . une main (des)souz s'aisselle
 Avoit et en l'autrë un gant
 Tenoit dont sē aloit jouant.

(ll. 6,524-6,526 St.)

In the *Roman de la Rose*, Reason appears as

La dame de la haute angarde
 Qui de sa tor aval esgarde ;
 Raison fu la dame apelee
 Lors est de sa tor devalee
 Si est tot droit vers moi venue.

(ll. 2,973-2,977.)

and in the *Pèlerinage de Vie humaine*

(Tan)tost vers eus une pucelle
 Descendit d'une tournelle.
 Raison apeler se faisait,
 Si com Grace dit le m'avoit.

(ll. 573-576 St.)

But this comparison must not be taken too far, for Deguileville's poem is nothing more than a series of rarely interesting conversations between such persons as Grace of God, Reason and

¹ *Le Roman de la Rose*, par Guillaume de Lorris et Jean de Meun, publié d'après les manuscrits par Ernest Langlois (Paris, 1914-1924), t. ii.

Aristotle, with the Pilgrim as commentator, ever ready with his questions, "Why do you do this?" "Will you please explain that?" Moreover the Pilgrim does not hesitate to appear more stupid than he really is so as to make his guides explain themselves in greater detail.

Deguileville does not tell us any more of himself than his father's name, his own name and order, and the date when he began his poem. His name appears several times in the form of an acrostic GUILLERMUS DE DEGUILEVILLA,¹ from which is taken the French form Guillaume de Deguileville.² He tells us very little of the events and men of his time, except in so far as they concern the Church. He is most deeply moved by the practices of certain priests whom he condemns in his description of Avarice. This Vice, who describes herself in great detail, has six hands—Rapine, Cutpurse, Usury, Knavery, Simony, Barat or Trickery. The last of these is the worst. She it is who inspires the priests to put oil, water and wine into the statues of saints, so that the people may believe that they sweat or bleed miraculously, and who encourages false cripples to declare themselves suddenly cured by the holy images :—

Je m'en vois aus coquins parler
Et leur fais faire simuler
Que boisteus soient ou contrais,
Sours ou mues ou contrefais.
Et en tel point venir les fais
Devant l'image et crier : " las,
Saint image, garissiez moi !
Après Dieu ai en vous grant foi ! "
(Et) adonc de ma main les lieve
Et touz *sains* en heure brieve
(Les) moustre. Merveille n'est mie,
Quar n'avoient (ne) maladie.

(ll. 9,957-9,968 St.)

The matter of this poem is neither interesting nor remarkable, and the style does not compensate in any way for this

¹ A similar acrostic is found in one of his Latin poems, "Ad Sanctum Benedictum," Dreves, *op. cit.*, p. 347.

² There are in certain MSS. variants such as Guillaume Deguilleville or Digulleville.

mediocrity. Many of the incidents described are absurd. The Pilgrim begins his journey at birth and takes part immediately in a long discussion of theological doctrines. The changing of the bread and wine into flesh and blood is explained by the fact that Moses was hungry, and Grace of God's justification of this change involves the appearance of Aristotle.

Deguileville does little but parade his knowledge. He brings together in the most extraordinary way, discussions on the vices of the world, astrology, etymology, the doctrines of the Church, the works of Ovid and Saint Augustine. It is not easy to understand why this display of erudition is necessary in an account of man's pilgrimage through life, nor why the author should show himself as a talkative pilgrim who is the dupe of all his enemies. They indeed, show him great courtesy in describing all their evil characteristics and in pointing out to him precisely all that they intend to do. None the less he is always unprepared, and it is not surprising that Grace of God in spite of all her indulgence reproaches him as a fool and a coward :—

Certes, a elle respondu,
Or pert il bien que retenu
Rien n'as de quanque je t'ai dit
Ou il t'en souvient mont petit ;
Ou (tu) cuidez par aventure
Qu'en moi ait si grant laidure
Que ma parole soit fable
Ou qu'elle soit decevable ?

Tes armeures as mises jus
Et sans coup ferir es vaincus.
Un baing te faut pour toi baignier
Et un mol lit pour toi couchier,
Un mire pour reconforter
Les ners froissiez et consouder.

(ll. 4,573-4,580, 4,837-4,842 St.)

Grace of God's scorn is often well deserved. When Treachery and Detraction attack the Pilgrim, Detraction suggests that he should be made to dismount from his horse. “What ?” says the Pilgrim to Treachery, “have I a horse ? Detraction, why has she said this ? If you know pray tell me.” Treachery

obligingly describes to him his horse "Good Renown," which has four legs, for if it had only three or two or one, it would most certainly limp.

It is surprising to learn that this poem enjoyed great success in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. In addition to the many manuscript copies which were made, a prose version was written in 1464 for Jeanne de Laval, Queen of Jerusalem and Sicily. We learn also from the Chantilly MS. 1617 that the poem was dramatised in the latter half of the fifteenth century by Sœur Katharine Bourlet, and was played at the Convent of St. Michel at Huy, Liège.

It is still more surprising to learn that the author, far from being exhausted after having written a poem of 13,500 lines, was courageous enough to re-write it and to add to it. He mentions the date of writing it early in the poem in the description of Grace of God's house:—

Celle avoit elle fondee
(Si) com disoit et maconnee
. XIII^e . et . XXX . ans avoit
Si comme bien l'en souvenoit.

(ll. 397-400 St.)

This date is given in all the manuscripts containing Deguileville's poem, but in some manuscripts we find another date which indicates that the poem was re-written twenty-five years later. The author had intended to correct his work after further reflection, but unfortunately his manuscript was stolen:—

Pour tant le di que une foiz
Lan mil. CCC. x. par troys foiz
Un songe ui auentureus
Lequel aussy com sommeilleus
Escrips a mon esueillement
En li arestant grossement
Afin que ne loubliasse
Et que apres le corrigasse
Quant plus esueille seroie
Et panse plus y aroie
Et le cuydoy ie bien faire
Se neusse eu contraire

Sans mon sceu et uolente
 Tout mon escript me fut oste
 Par tout diuulgue et scet dieu
 Que ie ne le tien pas a gieu
 Quar a mettre et a oster
 A congier et ordener
 Y avoit mout si com perceu
 Apres quant bien esueile fu

.

Si que celui qui le mosta
 A mon proufit petit pensa
 Mieux amender ie le pouaie
 Quant tout seul ie le tenoie
 Que ne feroie maintenant
 Dautre part le temps est si grant
 Que le songe me fu oste
 Que iay ausy com oublie
 Tout ce qui apartenoit
 A oster et mettre par droit.

(Fonds français, MS. 377, folio 1 recto,
 cols. 1, 2 ; verso, col. 1.)

Deguileville began then to re-write his poem and this time to avoid all misfortune, wrote an envoy which was to be hung round the poem's neck :—

Si que songe tu ten iras
 Par tous les lieux ou este as
 A tous tes prouuains tenuoie
 Pour ce que y sces lauoie
 De par moy les ua tous taillier
 Et mettre a point et adrecier
 Quant sans congie tu y alas
 Par congie aler y deuras
 Ne tauoie pas apele
 Pieca pelerin et nomme
 Afin qua cheual ne a pie
 Alasses lors sans mon congie
 Mes pour ce que te menasse
 Auec moy quant ie alasse
 En ierusalem la cite
 Ou daler estoie exite
 Cest ou ie tent ce est la fin
 Ou doit tendre tout pelerin

Or ua donc ou ie tenuoie
 Mieux y sces de moy la uoie
 Et soies loial message
 De tout mon pelerinage
 Disant a tous comment mauint
 Passe a des ans . xxv.
 En labbaie de chaalis
 Fondée du roy louys.

(MS. 377, f. 1, v. 1.)

The new poem of 1355 follows the same plan as the earlier one, but is much longer. The author introduces new characters, adds new incidents and sometimes changes the order of events.

A large number of manuscripts of the first recension, and of manuscripts and prints of the second recension exists ; they can be classed accordingly.

The 1330 Recension.

List of manuscripts (in part from Dr. Stürzinger's edition of this recension).

Paris. Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds français, Nos. 376, 823, 824, 827, 828, 1139, 1140, 1141, 1577, 1645, 1647, 1649, 1818, 1819, 9196, 12462, 12464, 12465, 19158, 19186, 24302, 24303, 24304.

Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, 3170, 5071.

Bibliothèque de S. Geneviève, 1130.

Arras. Bibliothèque de la Ville, 532.

Cambrai. Bibliothèque de la Ville, 212 (207).

Lyon. Bibliothèque de la Ville, 768 (686).

Tours. Bibliothèque de la Ville, 950.

Aix. Bibliothèque de la Ville, 110.

Chartres. Bibliothèque de la Ville, 408 (423).

Pont à Mousson. Bibliothèque de la Ville, 6.

Reims. Bibliothèque de la Ville, 1276 (J. 750).

London. British Museum Add. MSS. 22937, 25594. Harl. MSS. 4399.

Library of Mr. H. H. Gibbs, MS. G.

Library of Mr. A. H. Huth, MS. H.

Library of the Earl of Ashburnham Coll. Barrois, 488, 74.

Cheltenham. Library of Sir T. Phillipps, 3655.

Oxford. Bodleian Library. Douce 300.

Brussels. Bibliothèque Royale 11069, 10176, 10197, 18066, 18292.

Berlin. Kgl. Bibl. Hamilton 285.

Metz. Stadtbibl. 315.

Munich. Hof-und-Staatsb. Cod. Gall., 30.

Leningrad. Bibl. Imp. F. XIV. No. 4.

Rome. Bibl. Vat. Reg. 1668.

Heidelberg. Pal. lat. 1969.

The Prose Version.

Bibliothèque Nationale. MSS. 1137 (Vellum, 1464), 1646 (fifteenth cent., paper).

Bibliothèque S. Geneviève. MS. 294.

Library of Lord Aldenham. MS. which originally belonged to René Laval, cousin of Jeanne de Laval.

Printed copies of this prose version were published at Lyon in 1485 by Maître Husz, and followed by second and third editions in 1486 and 1489. In 1489 Pierre Virgin printed a remodelled version of the prose which was reprinted in 1504 by Claude Nourry. There is a copy of this reprint in the Bodleian Library (Douce P339), "Le pelerin de vie humaine tres utile et prouffitabel pour congnoistre soymesmes." About 1499 Vêrard printed an edition of this prose version, one copy of which, decorated with a Tudor portcullis and rose, was sold to Henry VII. This book now belongs to the Earl of Ellesmere and a facsimile has been printed for the Roxburghe Club. The prologue is not without interest :—

Cy commence le prologue Du translateur de ce p̄sent liure Intitule le pelerinaige De Vie humayne.

Le prologue

En lonneur et gloire De Dieu tout puissant. Et pour obeyr a la requeste De treshaute et excellante princesse. Et ma tresredoubtee Dame / Dame Jehanne De laual par la grace De Dieu royne de hierusalem et De secile / Duchesse Daniou et De bar / contesse De prouence. Je treshumble clerç serviteur et subject Dicelle Dame Demourant a angiers indigne de moy nômer pour euader vaine gloire reputant ladicte requeste pour especial mandement / me suis mys a conuertir De ryme en prose francoyse le liure Du pelerinaige De vie humayne / soubz la noble correction et benigne interpretation De ladicte Dame et De tous aultres qui mieulx le scauront si leur plaisoit Disposer et amender / en le poursuyuant a mon pouoir principalement la sentence De lentendement De lacteur Dycelluy liure qui fut notable clerç et religieux nomme frere guillaume De guilleville en labbaye De chalis pres la cite De senlis.

According to Visch¹ the modest man responsible for this prose version was Jean Gallopes. He kept closely to Deguileville's poem, but divided his work into chapters and gave a summary of the contents at the beginning of each chapter. The name of the printer is given at the end of the book, but without date.

Ce present liure appelle le pelerinaige De homme humain a este imprime
a paris par Anthoyne Verard / libraire Demourant sur le pont nostre Dame
a lymaige saint jehan leuangeliste / ou au palais au premier pillier Deuant
la chappelle ou len chante la messe De messeigneurs les presidens.

Gallopes' prose version enjoyed so wide a public that the printers never considered printing the original poem.

The Second Recension—1355.

Deguileville tells us that he was anxious to revise and perfect his poem before giving it finally to the public, but that his manuscript was stolen. By this he apparently means that copies of his poem were circulated without his consent; so many passages of the second version are identical with those of the first that Deguileville must have had a copy of his first poem for reference.

In the prologue to the new version Deguileville complains that he is unable to remember all that he intended to add to the original. None the less, he adds some 4,000 lines in French and 1,100 lines in Latin; "comme si" says M. Paulin Paris, "13,500 vers n'eussent pas suffi pour apaiser sa fureur poétique." Perhaps Deguileville had decided that his poem was not too long to be written in full as he had feared when writing in 1330.

Whatever the reason, Deguileville began to re-write his poem and lengthen it. This new version was very popular, and many editions were printed, although the number of manuscript copies is small.

List of manuscripts and prints of the 1355 recension.

Paris. Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds français, nos. 377, 825, 829, 1138, 12466.

Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, 3646.

Bibliothèque de l'Institut, 20.

Cherbourg. Bibliothèque de la Ville, 42.

Leningrad, Bibl. Imp. F. XIV. No. 11.

¹ *Bibl. Scriptorum Sacri Ord. Cisterciën.*, Douai, 1649.

Prints.—

1. Le rommant des trois Pelerinaiges . . . fait et *compose par* frere guillaume de deguileuille en son viuant moyne de chaaliz de lordre de cisteaux

.
Ont ensemble a *commun* profit
Fait imprimer elegamment
Maistre Barthole et Jehan Petit (1500?)

Small 4to, black letter, pp. x, 206, double columns : Oxford : Bodleian.
Douce, D. Subt. 58. 4to ; London : Brit. Mus. 853.26. 4to.

2. Le pelerinage de l'homme. Nouvellement imprime a paris le quatriesme iour dauril mil cinq cens et vnze deuant pasques pour Antoine verard.
Small folio, black letter, pp. ii, 106, numbered, double columns, 49 lines, with woodcuts : Oxford : Bodleian. Douce G. 285 ; London : Brit. Mus. C. 6. b. 15.

Only the first of these two prints, of which but a few copies exist, contains the three poems. Before printing, the poems were read and corrected by a monk of Clairvaux, Pierre Virgin, who precedes the poem with a prologue of his own. This corrected text was used by Vêrard, but he printed only the first poem. He includes Virgin's prologue :—

Cy sensuit le noble romant
Du pelerin bon et vtile
Compose bien elegamment
Par guillaume de guile ville
De chaliz de pontigny fille
Moyne de lordre des cisteaux
Distingue par voye tres subtile
En trois liures especiauxx

Le premier du pelerinaige
De l'homme durant quest en vie
L'autre de lame de la caige
De son corps desia departie
Le tiers declaire et annuncie
Le pelerinaige de crist
Depuis quil fust ney de marie
Jusqua lenuoy du saint esperit

Jadis fut fait a lequite
 En bonne rime et mesuree
 Mais par treslongue antiquite
 A este beaucoup deprauee
 Puis de present bien reparee
 A moult grans peines et traualx
 Et a forme deue redigee
 Par lung des moynes de clerualx

Qui plus volentiers ce labeur
 A pris et la vexation
 Car lui et du liure lacteur
 Sont de mesme profession
 Aussi pour la deuotion
 De ceulx qui sont entalente
 Faire peregrination
 En iherusalem la cite

Pieca quelque vng ne scay pourquoy
 Le translata de rime en prose
 En quoy mal fist comme ie croy
 Car mal a droit vient ceste chose
 Comme se le methamorphose
 Len mettait en langue rural
 Ou toute poesie est enclose
 Exponible a bon sens moral

Tout ainsi nostre pelerin
 Ja soit que vray soit et tout saint
 Toutesfois ainsi quen latin
 Ouide plusieurs fables faint
 Semblablement de pres actaint
 Poesie nostre guile ville
 Pourquoi ne deuoit estre enfrainct
 Aucunement son plaisant stile

Car quiconque a entendement
 De sens acquis ou de clergie
 En lisant ce translatement
 De ceste prose mal ordie
 Congnoistra que nulle energie
 En elle ny a ne prouffit
 Mais nest que droicte mocquerie
 Nen desplaie a cil qui la fit

Encor ceste translation
A este tyree et extraicte
De la premiere ediction
De lacteur questoit imperfaicte
Ainsi que luy mesme latteste
Euidemment en son prologue
Raison est donc quon la reiecte
Puis quainsi a verite derogue

En la forme quest emende
A fin que puisse proufiter
A plusieurs qui lont demande
Pour en vertu sexerciter
A paris on la fait porter
La ou il a este par bon art
Imprime sans mettre ne oster
Pour le sire anthoine verad

(Vérard, f. 1 r. and v.)

The reference to a “ premiere ediction ” in the eighth verse of the Prologue has presented some difficulty to the Abbé Goujet—one of the first to give a critical account of Deguileville’s poems (*Bibliothèque Française*, Tome ix, pp. 71-92, Paris, 1745). He quotes this verse and adds, “ Je ne sçai quelle est cette premiere édition dont parle l’Anonyme ; Guillaume ne dit pas ce qu’il lui fait dire dans le prologue des deux manuscrits que j’ai eu lieu de consulter.” To judge from the quotations given by the Abbé Goujet in his notice he must have used the printed edition of the second recension, in which the Prologue written by Deguileville himself and referring to the loss of the manuscript of the first recension is mentioned. It would seem then that the two manuscripts consulted were those containing the 1330 poem.

The book printed by Barthole and Petit mentions Barthole’s name in the last verse of the Prologue, and contains in addition two verses which urge the reader to understand the book “ moralement et non pas litteralement.” Barthole prints Deguileville’s own prayer, “ Merci dis je douce creature,” where Vérard gives a Latin prayer by Saint Bernard. The other differences are editorial ; Vérard gives a table of contents for each chapter, and Barthole an alphabetical index.

It would seem then that the success of the printed edition of Gallopes' prose version encouraged Barthole and Vêrard to print Deguileville's poem rather than a new edition of the prose version of which they had no high opinion. They chose as the better of the two recensions that of 1355. The admiration which Virgin felt for the poet's agreeable style forbade any change in the content of the poem, though he modernised the language to some extent.

Deguileville's fame was not confined to his own country. In 1426 Lydgate translated the second recension into English and included Chaucer's earlier translation of Deguileville's A.B.C. prayer. So great was the popularity of Lydgate's translation in England, that it has been maintained by many that Bunyan must have read the translation and drawn from it his plan for the *Pilgrim's Progress*.¹

Brunet mentions in his *Manuel du Libraire* ² another translation of the poem :

El peregrinaje de la vida humana, compuesto por fray Guillermo de Guilleville, traduzido en vulgar Castellano, por frey Vincentio Mazuello. En Tolosa, por Henrique (Meyer) Aleman, 1490, in-folio gothique.

The Douce collection includes *Dat boeck vanden pelgrym*, by heynrick Eckert van Homberch, 4to, Delf, 1498.

The additions which Deguileville made in 1355 to his first version are numerous. In the following list of these additions the numbers of lines added are also given :—

- | | |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| 1. A discussion on dreams ; the account of the loss of the manuscript ;
the envoy to the poem. | 91 |
| 2. The sufferings of the martyrs who are worthy of entry into Jerusalem. | 32 |
| 3. Of the white dove. | 5 |
| 4. A discussion on baptism and original sin. | 228 |
| 5. The story of the prelate who cursed a cherry tree. | 40 |
| 6. Of the sons of Zebedee. | 8 |
| 7. Of the delegation of power. | 71 |
| 8. A quotation from St. Paul concerning charity. | 6 |

¹ See *A Study of the sources of Bunyan's Allegories, with special reference to Deguileville's Pilgrimage of Man*, J. B. Wharey (Baltimore, 1904).

Le Pèlerinage de l'homme compared with the Pilgrim's Progress, Nathaniel Hill (London, 1858).

² T. ii (Paris, 1861), col. 1824.

9. Additional details in the Testament of Christ.
10. Of the scrip and staff ; the Pilgrim's eyes are transferred to his ears. 174
11. Three Latin poems :
 - Credo ego catholicus
 - Pater creator omnium
 - Ave reclinatorium.
12. Of the girdle of Perseverance. 10
13. The Pilgrim complains that he has no armour for his legs. 76
14. Conversation with Toil. 122
15. Of Moral Virtue. 140
16. Conversation between a Pilgrim and Mortification of the Body. 126
17. The Wheel of Sensuality. 300
18. Conversation with Venus ; of the Roman de la Rose. 200
19. Of still-born children. 20
20. Necromancy's messenger ; of the Duke of Frisia who preferred Hell with his friends to Heaven without them. 344
21. Of the Hermit who killed his father. 16
22. The Wheel of Fortune. 142
23. The meeting with Astrology, Geomancy, Idolatry, Sorcery, and Conspiracy.
24. Ovid and the Pilgrim. 40
25. The acrostic on the author's name in French and Latin verse.
26. The Pilgrim visits the monasteries. 729
27. The Porter, "Fear of God," brings two messengers, Prayer and Alms. Of the king who ruled for a year. Of Saint Louis, King of France. 156
28. The part played by Grace of God's white dove.

Certain passages in the 1330 version were amplified in the new one. The following list gives the number of lines in corresponding passages of the two versions :—

1. The description of Jerusalem. 24-36
2. The description of Spring. 12-18
3. The marriage of the two Pilgrims. 18-40
4. The Pilgrim's complaint to Grace of God. 8-20
5. Of the drops of blood on the scrip. 12-40
6. To Sloth's three ropes, two more are added.

The longest of these amplifications shows what care Deguileville expended on his new version.

1330 *version.*

Ceste escherpe est de vert couleur,
 Quar tout aussi com la verdeur
 Conforte l'ueil et la veue
 Aussi (te) di que foi ague
 Fait vëue d'entendement,
 Ne ja l'ame parfaitement
 Ne verra, se ceste verdeur
 Ne li preste force et viguer ;
 Et pour ce'elle t'ara mestier
 Pour toi en ta voie adrecier,
 A ce que de loing tu voies
 Le païs ou tu t'avoies—(ll. 3485-3496 St.)

New version.

Ceste escharpe est de verd couleur
 Car tout ainsi que la verdeur
 Reconforte lueil et la veue
 Et lesioyst moult et lague
 Aussi fait foy bon pelerin
 Car ia ne sera en chemin
 Se bien regarde sa verdeur
 Quen luy nait plus forte vigueur

Mesmement car elle est semee
 De sang tres vermeil et goutee
 Et ny a goutte si petite
 Qui trop mieulx dune marguerite
 Ne vaille et qui plus precieuse
 Ne soit et trop plus vertueuse
 Tres grant vigueur verdeur luy donne
 Le sang esmeut et achoisonne
 De prendre cueur et faire ainsi
 Que les glorieulx martirs qui
 Trop mieulx amerent a respandre
 Leur sang pour leur foy fort deffendre
 Quaucunement leur feust osee
 Pour sa vertu quauoient goustee
 Cest pour te donner exemplaire
 Que se tu trouves qui soustraire
 La te vueille point ne oster
 Auant occire et decouper
 Te laisses plus tost que ten voyes
 Descharpey car trop y perdroies
 Bien scay que pieca les saignes
 Sen sont en alees et passees
 Car cherubin comme tu vis
 A son glaive ou fourreau remis
 Nul ne se veult plus opposer
 Aux tirans pour la foy garder
 Bien dient les aucuns quilz yront
 Quant leur ventre remply bien ont
 Et iurent et se font croiser
 Mais quant ce vient a lexploicter
 Nest rien si froit tout est perdu
 Plus ne deuroit telz estre creu

(f. 23 v. 1 and 2. Vêrard.)

Deguileville also omitted several passages of the 1330 poem in the 1355 version. They consist of the following lines :—

1. Nature's complaint to Grace of God.	lines 1829-1980 (St.)
2. The martyrdom of St. Stephen.	3571-3672
3. The Pilgrim's complaint that his staff is not tipped with iron.	3753-3812
4. Of the scabbard and sword-belt.	4319-4348
5. The Pilgrim's complaints about his armour.	4431-4442
6. Of the disciples who had neither scrip nor staff.	5445-5470
7. The Pilgrim's complaint that he cannot carry his armour.	5667-5812
8. The Pilgrim insults Toil.	6541-6546 6557-6566
9. Conversation with Toil.	6615-6632
10. Of Pride's spurs.	7877-7886
11. Of the Pharisee and the Publican.	8067-8080
12. Further details about Detraction.	8534-8569
13. Memory reminds the Pilgrim to make use of his armour.	8968-9007
14. Conclusion to Book 2.	9009-9054
15. The prayer to Christ.	9105-9116
16. More details of the hand Rapine.	9349-9482
17. Of the woodcutters and the zodiac.	9677-9722
18. The Pilgrim receives his staff from Grace of God.	10751-10888
19. Infirmary speaks to the Pilgrim.	13155-13168

There are also the following changes in the order of the poem :

1. The discussion about the Body and Soul is placed after the encounter with Natural Understanding in the 1330 poem ; in the 1355 poem it precedes it.

2. In the 1330 poem, the Pilgrim meets Youth before he enters the Ship of Religion, and it is the Body which persuades him to take the wrong path ; in the 1355 version the Pilgrim meets Youth much earlier and it is she who entices him into the wrong path.

3. In the first recension the account of the tub of tears, the meeting with Satan, Heresy and Tribulation, the reading of the commissions of Adonai and Satan are placed before the entry into the Ship of Religion ; in the second recension the reading of the commissions and the arrival of Tribulation occur before the description of Avarice, and the meeting with Satan and Heresy after ; the Pilgrim washes in the tears of Penitence after having seen the Ship.

The new version of the poem was considered too long to be read aloud and the remarks addressed to the audience in the 1330 version are omitted.

It is obvious that Deguileville took great pains with this new version of his pilgrimage, and indeed some of the additions to the original poem deserve their place, as for example, the description of Avarice's influence on the priests :—

Aucunesfois faiz baptisez
 Daucuns petiz enfans mors nez
 Dessus lautier ie les faiz mectre
 Qui ressemble tout massis estre
 Mais il est tout creux par dedens
 Et par certains soubzterremens
 Des charbons ardans ie soubzmectz
 Et laultier eschauffer ie faiz
 Qui a lenfant donne chaleur
 Et puis ie monstre que vigueur
 Il y a, et dy quil est viuant
 Ia soit ce quil soit tout puant
 Et tel puant ie le baptize
 Et par ainsi a moy iatise
 Or et argent a ma prebende
 Qui chose est horrible et horrible
 De baptizer une charoigne
 Pitie est quautrement nen soigne
 Le prelat en quel euesche
 Est fait si horrible peche

(f. 71, r. 1, V.)

Deguileville's reference to the *Roman de la Rose* in this second version is interesting. The Pilgrim meets Venus (Luxure) who charitably confesses to him all her faults, and tells him that her chief enemy is Virginity whom she has caused to be maligned in the *Roman de la Rose* :—

Je mesdy de luy bien souuant
 Et faiz mesdire par ma gent
 Ainsi comme il appert sans glose
 En mon beau rommant de la rose
 Ou faulx semblant le faiz nommer
 Par mon vicaire et appeller
 Et la cause est, car approucher
 Ne me laisse na luy toucher
 Le pelerin

Pourquoy dis ie reputes tien
Le rommant quas dit que scay bien
Qui le fist et comment ot nom

Luxure

Au dire dist elle ay raison
Car ie le feiz et il est myen
Et ce puis ie prouuer tresbien
Car du premier iusques au bout
Sans discontinuer par tout
Il n y a que de moy parle
Fors tant seulement excepte
Ce que mon escriuain embla
Et en autruy champ le seya
De quoy maintes gens ont cuyde
Que de sa terre leust seye
Mais voir non fist, ains partie grant
Il desroba en autruy champ
Dont il aduint que quant seoit
Et quen ung sac le tout boutoit
Pource que le vouloit celer
Et droit nauoit de lemporter
Dun normant hault escrie fu
Qui de loing lauoit aperceu
Ha ha dist il nest pas raison
De faire faix dautruy moisson
Celluy tantost sen affouy
Mais ne fut pas tant esbahy
Que le larrecin nempportast
Et en mon rommant ne lentast
Ce que grandement me despleut
Car ie voulsisse bien quil neust
Fors seulement de moy escript
Ainsi que ie luy auoie dit
Ou au moins que ny eust mis rien
Dautruy, mais seulement du sien
Or aduint pour ce quescriey
Fut de ce quil auoit embley
Oncques puis normant il nayma
Ainsi quau rommant bien monstra
En disant que de normandie
Estoit malebouche partie

We cannot identify the Norman writer of the polemic referred to, but Deguileville evidently shared his opinion :—

Toy luy dis ie et ton escriuain
 Estes de grant mauuaistie plain
 Car quiconques dau truy mesdit
 Bonne bouche na pas se cuit
 Je ne puis dire male bouche
 En mesdisant que ie ne touche
 Estre la myenne male aussi
 Pour quoy veritablement dy
 Male bouche est ton escripuain
 En male bouche son prochain
 Appellant, pour ce quescriey
 Lauoit en disant veritey
 Et tu male bouche as aussi
 Quant contre chastete mesdy
 Tu as, et ton clerc fait mentir
 Pour faire bonnes gens hayr

(f. 51, v. 1, V.)

Yet in the Prologue to the first recension Deguileville speaks of the “ biau Roman de la Rose,” which he had read apparently with pleasure before falling asleep. In the 1355 version his dream is not attributed to the reading of the *Roman de la Rose*, which he condemns as the work of a plagiarist inspired by Venus. This complete change of opinion may perhaps be explained by the fact that in 1355 the poet was about sixty years old and possibly regretted his youthful admiration for a definitely profane poem.

In her preface to an edition of Lydgate's translation of this poem,¹ Miss Locock suggests that the writer to whom Deguileville refers, and who must have been Jean de Meun, had perhaps influenced Deguileville's work, and that the two writers may have been sufficiently intimate to have discussed the theological points which were treated in their work. One hardly expects to hear of a friendship between two men of whom one could write of the other as Deguileville did. In this connection M. Gaston Paris says, “ Ces œuvres vertueux (i.e. the three

¹ *The Pilgrimage of the Life of Man*, Lydgate. Early English Text Soc. (London, 1899, 1904).

Pilgrimages) furent écrits, du moins le premier, pour réagir contre le *Roman de la Rose* ; l'auteur a cru habile d'emprunter le système des personnifications au poème en vogue qu'il voulait supplanter.”¹ It may be that Deguileville approved of Guillaume de Lorris' poem, but did not, monk that he was, see any reason to admire the work of the free-thinker Jean de Meun.

Apart from the additions to the 1330 poem already mentioned, there seems to be little justification for the rewriting of the poem. The new episodes serve only to weary the reader so that it is pleasant to find that some of the original poem is omitted, and to learn that on several occasions the author has decided to relate his adventures “briefly.” One can well understand that even Grace of God sometimes lost patience with the Pilgrim whom she thought “rioteux et ennuyeux,” although there does not seem to be any reason for the author's making so damning an admission about himself.

The Rylands Manuscript.

This manuscript which formerly belonged to the Earl of Crawford, and was catalogued in his collection as French MS. 4, was acquired by Mrs. Rylands in 1901. It is a codex on vellum, containing 249 leaves and 3 fly-leaves (323 × 250 mm.). The sixteenth-century binding is of brown leather on wood, and the covers, which are identical, have stamped decorations, brass corner tips and centrepieces. The top cover shows the remains of two leather clasps with three nails. The back strip is modern and has the title printed in gilt letters: GUILLEVILLE / PELERINAGE / DE LA VIE / MS / SAEC. XIV. On a sheet of vellum attached to the top cover is written “Fr. MSS. No. 4. Guileville,” and below is the Earl of Crawford's bookplate with the number $\frac{K}{I}$. The name “Crawford” is written on the first fly-leaf. On a sheet of vellum glued to the back cover are the letters “rm / er / -” probably indicating the price

¹ *Esquisse historique de la littérature française au moyen âge* (Paris, 1907), p. 215.

paid for the manuscript. The collation is as follows : a⁸—i⁸, k⁸—u⁸, x⁸, y⁶, z⁸, Z⁸, 9⁸, A⁸—E⁸, F⁶, G⁵. Some of the signatures have been written twice. All the catchwords are correct. The contents may be briefly indicated :—

I. f. 1 recto, col. 1.

Cy commence le Rommant du peleri / naige du corps humain

A Ceulx de ceste Region
Qui point ny ont de mansion
Ains y sont tout com dit S' pol
Riche poure saige et fol

f. 45 verso, col. 1.

Une autre fois vous reuendrez
Se plus ouir vous en voulez
Et tandiz je mauiseray
Dapoint compter si com je scay

Cy fenist le premier liure du peler / inaige du corps humain
Et cy apres commence le ij^e liure dudit / pelerinaige
Après ce que jay dit deuant
De ce que je vy en dormant
Autre merueilles je vy puis

f. 91 r., 1.

Car celle tost sen reuola
Et onc puis a moy ne parla

Cy fenist le ij^e liure du pelerinaige / du corps humain

Cy apres commence le tiers liure / dudit pelerinaige

Avant alay oultre le bos
Ou une vieille qui fagos
Portoit a son col vi venir
Et atravers champs acourir

f. 101 r., 1.

Et la remuneration
De la joye de paradis
Que doint dieu aux mors et aux vifs
Amen

Cy fenist le pelerinaige du corps / humain

II. f. 101 r., 1.

Cy commence le liure du pelerinaige / de lame

Après que je fu esueillez
Et quassez me fu merueillez
De mon songe et que rien *nen* vy

f. 173 v., 1.

Se trouuee y est menconge
Reputee doit estre a songe
Ainsi a ceulx qui le liront
Le pry et a ceulx qui lorront

Cy fenist Le liure du pelerinaige / de lame

f. 174. Blank.

III. f. 175 r., 1.

Cy commence le liure du pelerinaige / Jhesucrist

Entre plusieurs paraboles
Que ot Jhesus en ses escoles
A ses disciples enseignoit
Et a qui oir les vouloit

f. 247 v., 1.

Esueillez fu et me trouuay
Ou jardin dont deuant dit ay
Acoute dessoubz le pommier
Ou le pie mestoit orillier
Soubz le quel les oyseaux chantoient
Entre eulx et se resiouyssoient
Et ainsi mon songe a tous dy
Et que prient pour moy leur pry

Cy fenist le liure du pelerinaige / de Jhesucrist

IV. f. 247 v., 2.

Loroison de cellui qui fist le dit pele / rinaige touchant la matiere
dicellui

Doubz Jhesus filz de dieu le pere
Bien est raison que or mapaire

f. 249 r., 1.

Ce est en la gloire celestre
Ou nous puissons avoir *nostre* estre
Amen.

The manuscript is written throughout in one hand in double columns of 38 or 39 lines, but on f. 249 another hand has added a note giving the conditions of a bequest of the manuscript :—

Dame marguerite chenbellain vesue de feu notable personne estiene bourcier a donne sestui liure du pelerin a seur marguerite gandrem sa niepce et filleule et au couent dauxonne ou quel la dite seur marguerite a estee resseue et la donne sur telle condicion que lon ne le puisse james transpourter hors du couent se non que la dite seur marguerite gandrem fut transpourtée en ung autre couent comment lon transpourt aucune fois lez religieuzes es conuens de leur ordres mes elle veut que apres le trepas de la dite seur marguerite gandrem se dit liure soit rapourter ou couent de madame sainte clere situe en la ville dauxonne et de seste donnaison est tesmoint leur beau pere confesseur nonne frere jehain gautier et jehain chaine notaire apostolique lequel demeure en la dite ville dauxonne et dame marie varnyere niepce de la dite dame marguerite fille de sa propre seur germaine nommee jehanne chanbellain a la requeste de laquelle marie ella donne se liure a sa fille seur marguerite gandrem et au dit couent de madame sainte clere situe en la ville dauxonne.

Nothing definite is known of the ladies mentioned in this bequest apart from the relationship indicated. MM. Plancher and Frantin mention a "Guillaume Chambellan, conseiller du Duc de Bourgogne," who in 1415 was appointed along with many others, to hasten the payment of loans from various towns to the Duke.¹ Anselme, dealing with the Chanceliers de France, refers to "Guy de Rochefort. Femme, Marie Chambellan, gouvernante de Claude de France, fille aînée du roi Louis XII, mourut en 1509 après deux ans de viduité âgée de 39 ans & fut enterrée auprès de son mari en l'église de Cisteaux, elle étoit fille d'Henry Chambellan, receveur general des finances de Bourgogne, vicomte majeur de Dijon et d'Alix de Berbizy, dite Bercy surnommée *la Belle*." ²

No mention is made of the Bourcier, Varnyere or Gandrem families, so that we do not know whether there was any relationship between the owner of the manuscript and the Rochefort family.

The librarian of the Municipal Library of Auxonne who has

¹ *Histoire de Bourgogne* (Dijon, 1739-1781), iii, 436.

² *Histoire généalogique et chronologique de la maison royale . . . de France* (Paris, 1726-1733), vi, 415.

very kindly examined all the papers belonging to the convent of Les Clarisses, founded at Auxonne in 1412 by Sainte Claire, has not been able to discover anything relating either to Marguerite Gandrem or to the manuscript which she once possessed.

We have therefore no knowledge of what befell the manuscript from the time when Marguerite Gandrem or the convent authorities disposed of it, until it was bought by Lord Crawford.

The Decoration of the Manuscript.

The manuscript is fully illustrated. The initial letter is coloured in blue, red and gold, and the capital letters are alternately blue with red flourishes and gold with black flourishes; on. f. 74 r the capital letter L has been omitted. The headings are written in red. The manuscript contains 176 miniatures whose colours are still fresh. It is possible that they are the work of two artists, for they fall quite definitely into two groups distinguishable by the differing treatment of the chief figure, Grace of God, and of the backgrounds. From f. 1 to f. 30 v for instance, the miniatures show Grace of God wearing a golden crown, and the stars in the background are all yellow. But from f. 34 v to f. 40 v the crown is not golden and the stars are red and green. From f. 41 v to f. 88 v we have a return to the first type, and from f. 90 v to 246 r to the second. Among the last group of miniatures are to be noted some variants of the second type, in which we find a red sky with yellow stars, instead of a blue sky with red and green stars. The miniatures of the first type are much superior to those of the second; the figures are drawn with greater care and stand out more clearly against the background.

Certain pages are also decorated in the margin. The text of f. 1 is enclosed by a gilt line and the margin is filled with flowers and leaves. The first miniature shows us the pilgrim in his bed and at the top of the page is painted a castle which no doubt represents Jerusalem, the goal of the author's pilgrimage. F. 101, where the first poem ends, is decorated in the left-hand margin in the same way as f. 1, and the initial letter of the second poem, though not so big as that of the first poem, is

similarly embellished. The same decoration is found on f. 175 where the third poem begins. Both miniatures and marginal decoration show the influence of the Burgundian school.

List of Miniatures.

- f. 1 r., col. 1. The Author's dream.
- 2. The Pilgrim on his way to Jerusalem.
- v., 1. The road to Jerusalem by martyrdom.
- 2. The road to Jerusalem by the order of St. Augustine.
- 2 r., 1. The road to Jerusalem by the order of St. Benedict.
- 2. The road to Jerusalem by the order of St. Francis.
- v., 1. The poor in spirit enter Jerusalem.
- 2. Grace of God instructs the Pilgrim.
- 4 r., 1. Grace of God takes the Pilgrim with her.
- v. 2. The Pilgrim is baptised.
- 5 r., 1. The Pilgrim is confirmed.
- 2. Moses gives three kinds of ointment to a bishop.
- v. 1. Reason speaks to Moses and to the Bishop.
- 7 r., 1. The marriage of two pilgrims.
- 2. Moses ordains the priests.
- 8 r., 1. Moses gives candles and a gold cup to the monks.
- v., 1. Moses gives Grace of God to the monks.
- 9 r., 1. Reason preaches to the ministers of the Church.
- 10 v., 2. Reason gives a sword and keys to the Pilgrim.
- 11 r., 1. Reason reproves the Pilgrim.
- 12 r., 2. Moses with the help of Grace of God celebrates Holy Communion.
- v., 1. Reason and the Pilgrim.
- 2. Nature complains to Grace of God.
- 15 r., 1. Nature asks pardon of Grace of God.
- 2. Penitence and Charity.
- 19 v., 1. The Pilgrim asks Reason to instruct him.
- 25 r., 1. Grace of God gives the scrip and staff to the Pilgrim.
- 26 v., 1. She gives him a scroll containing the Latin hymn "Credo ego catholicus."
- 30 v., 1. The Pilgrim receives a second scroll containing the hymns "Pater Creator omnium," "Ave reclinatorium."
- 34 v., 2. Grace of God gives the staff to the Pilgrim.
- 35 r., 2. She shows him the armour.
- v., 1. The Pilgrim receives the gambeson.
- 36 r., 1. He puts it on.
- v., 2. He receives the habergeon.
- 37 r., 2. He takes the gorget.

- 38 r., 2. He receives the sword, scabbard and sword-belt.
- 40 v., 2. The Pilgrim finds his armour too heavy.
- 41 v., 1. Grace of God leaves the Pilgrim.
- 42 v., 2. She sends Memory, an old woman with eyes in the back of her head to carry the Pilgrim's armour.
- 43 r., 2. Memory carries the armour.
The Pilgrim asks Moses for bread.
- 45 r., 1. The Pilgrim thanks Grace of God.
2. The Pilgrim and Memory on their way.
v., 1. Deguileville praying.
2. The Pilgrim meets Natural Understanding.
- 46 r., 2. Reason speaks to Natural Understanding.
v., 2. A clerk reads a letter from Grace of God to Reason.
- 47 r., 1. Natural Understanding argues with Reason.
- 49 v., 1. Reason speaks to the Pilgrim.
- 50 r., 1. He asks why he cannot carry his armour.
- 53 v., 1. Reason gives back the scrip to the Pilgrim.
- 54 r., 1. He complains to her.
- 55 v., 2. The Pilgrim meets Youth.
- 56 v., 1. He meets Toil at the forked path.
- 58 v., 1. He meets Idleness.
- 59 v., 1. He meets Moral Virtue.
- 60 r., 2. The spirit of a crucified man speaks to the Pilgrim.
- 61 r., 1. Grace of God rescues the Pilgrim.
- 63 v., 1. Youth flies over the hedge with the Pilgrim on her back.
2. The Pilgrim meets Gluttony.
- 65 r., 2. He meets Venus.
- 67 r., 1. Venus and Gluttony attack the Pilgrim.
v., 1. They attack a rich lord.
2. The Pilgrim meets Idleness.
- 68 v., 1. Reason appears to the Pilgrim.
- 69 r., 1. The Pilgrim is caught by Sloth.
- 70 r., 2. Sloth strikes the Pilgrim with her axe.
v., 2. She puts a rope round the Pilgrim's neck.
- 71 r., 1. She drives him far from the hedge.
2. He meets Pride and Flattery.
- 76 r., 1. Envy and her daughters, Treachery and Detraction.
- 79 r., 2. They attack the Pilgrim.
v., 1. Anger comes to help them.
- 80 v., 1. Memory reminds the Pilgrim of his armour.
2. The Pilgrim takes the sword and buckler.
- 81 r., 1. Tribulation attacks the Pilgrim.
- 82 v., 2. The Pilgrim attacked by all his enemies.
- 84 r., 2. He meets Avarice.
- 88 v., 2. The Pilgrim and the Messenger who carries a naked sword.

- 90 v., 2. The Pilgrim flees from Necromancy.
- 91 r., 1. Heresy comes towards the Pilgrim backwards.
v., 1. Satan spreads a net for the Pilgrim.
- 93 v., 2. The Ship of Religion.
- 94 r., 2. The tub filled with the tears of Penitence.
v., 2. The Pilgrim washes in this tub.
- 95 v., 1. The Porter of the Ship of Religion.
- 96 r., 1. The Pilgrim enters the Ship.
2. Obedience binds the Pilgrim's hands.
v., 1. The Pilgrim attacked by Scylla's dogs.
Ovid and the Pilgrim.
- 97 r., 2. A messenger enters the monastery.
v., 2. Old Age and Infirmary come to prepare the Pilgrim for Death.
- 99 r., 1. They attack the Pilgrim.
2. Pity comes to comfort the Pilgrim.
- 100 r., 2. The Pilgrim on his death-bed.
- 101 r., 2. The Soul is separated from the Body.
- 102 v., 2. The Soul is taken to be judged.
- 104 v., 2. Satan accuses the Soul before St. Michael.
- 108 r., 1. Justice comes to judge the Soul.
- 109 r., 1. Sinderesis accuses the Soul.
- 115 v., 1. Justice with her scales.
- 117 v., 1. The Soul is weighed.
- 118 r., 2. The Souls with their guardian angels pass from Purgatory to Heaven.
- 119 r., 1. An angel choir.
- 120 r., 1. The Souls taken captive by demons.
- 121 r., 1. The Soul sees those who burn in Purgatory.
- 123 r., 2. The angels bring the boxes containing Grace of God's ointment and the prayers said for the dead.
v., 1. The souls are anointed.
- 124 v., 2. The Soul sees the fires of Purgatory.
- 126 v., 1. The souls who are tormented by extreme cold.
- 127 r., 1. The Soul meets one who is penitent.
2. The wicked executor.
v., 2. The Soul and its angel go down into the earth.
- 130 r., 1. Hell-mouth ; still-born children.
2. Lucifer and his daughter Pride.
v., 2. The demons attack Pride.
- 131 r., 1. Lucifer sitting on Pride.
2. The punishment of the hypocrites.
v., 1. The punishment of the envious.
- 132 r., 2. The punishment of traitors.
- 133 v., 1. The punishment of evil tax-gatherers.
- 135 v., 1. The punishment of thieves.

- 136 r., 1. The punishment of usurers.
- v., 1. The punishment of the indolent.
- 2. The punishment of gluttons.
- 137 r., 1. The punishment of the lustful.
- v., 1. The chasm of Hell.
- 138, v. 1. The green tree and the barren tree.
- 145 v., 2. The asses' tombs.
- 146 v., 2. Doctrine licks a shapeless and ugly soul.
- 149 r., 2. The statue seen by Nebuchadnezzar.
- 159 r., 2. The birds who sing the name Jesus.
- 160 r., 2. The symbol of the Holy City.
- 164 v., 2. The glory of the saints.
- 170 r., 2. Adam and Eve and their descendants at the Tree of Life.
- 173 r., 2. The Author awakes.

- 175 r., 1. The Author falls asleep in a garden.
- v., 1. Adam falling from an apple tree.
- 2. The birds and beasts.
- 177 r., 1. The Pilgrim's vision.
- 181 v., 2. The Annunciation.
- 186 r., 2. Joseph and Mary.
- 187 v., 2. The Nativity.
- 188 v., 2. Poverty brings clothing for the Child.
- 189 v., 2. The Annunciation to the shepherds.
- 191 r., 2. The Adoration of the Wise Men.
- 194 r., 2. The Virgin presents the Child to God.
- 196 v., 1. Ignorance and the Holy Family.
- 201 r., 1. The Child Jesus in the Temple.
- 202 r., 2. Christ and John the Baptist.
- 204 r., 1. The marriage at Cana.
- v., 1. The Holy Family fall among thieves.
- 2. They steal the cradle and attack St. Joseph.
- 205 v., 2. Christ, St. John and the Old Law.
- 207 r., 1. Christ is baptised by St. John.
- 208 r., 1. The Temptation.
- 209 r., 2. The calling of Peter.
- 222 r., 1. The Transfiguration.
- v., 2. Lazarus raised from the dead.
- 225, r., 1. The Last Supper.
- 226 r., 1. Christ washes the disciples' feet.
- 227 r., 1. The Garden of Gethsemane.
- 228 r., 1. The Betrayal.
- 229 v., 1. Christ is mocked by His enemies.
- 230 v., 1. The Scourging.
- 231 v., 2. Simon helps Christ to carry His Cross.

- 232 v., 2. The Crucifixion.
 235 v., 2. Christ receives the vinegar.
 237 r., 2. The Malefactors' bones are broken.
 238 r., 1. The woman and the angel at the Sepulchre.
 v., 2. The walk to Emmaeus.
 239 v., 1. Christ and His Mother.
 240 v., 1. Christ appears to his disciples.
 241 v., 2. The Ascension.
 245 r., 2. The descent of the Holy Ghost.
 246 r. 2. The crowning of the Virgin.

The three poems were written by an unknown copyist who did his work with remarkable care. In the first poem there are only three uncompleted couplets, and one couplet in which the second line has been written first, but this has been corrected by a marginal note. The writing is exceptionally clear and legible. The copyist shows a pronounced liking for double letters; he writes *appeller*, *appostres*, *rellief*, and in one case transcribes "*sa pel*" as "*sappel*." In f. 18 v, col. 1, he has forgotten to leave a space for the miniaturist. The author referring to the carpenter's square says:—

Et est raison que la facon
 Congneue soit a ung patron
 Et a ung vray examplaire
 Que ceans ay fait pourtraire,

but there is no illustration.

In copying the Latin poems the scribe was not so accurate. The poems, as printed by Dreves, are divided into 12-line stanzas; the first words of the stanzas taken consecutively give the *Pater Noster*, the *Credo* and the *Ave Maria*. There is no such division in the Rylands manuscript and lines are frequently omitted. The line printed by Dreves as "*Factor Sion Amor-rhaeus*" and by Vêrard as "*Factus seon amorreus*," appears in the Rylands manuscript as "*Factus sum amoriens*," and "*infernale crocodillum*" as "*infernalem cocodrillum*," also found in Vêrard. The manuscript also includes twelve lines of the poem "*Credo ego catholicus*," printed by Vêrard (f. 25 v, col. 1) but not by Dreves.

At the end of the *Pelerinage Jhesucrist* the scribe has written "*loraison de celui qui fist ledit pelerinage touchant la matiere*

dicellui," found also in other manuscripts containing these poems, but he adds neither commentary nor date.

The Text of the First Poem. Le Pèlerinaige du Corps Humain.

In the list of manuscripts given by Dr. Stürzinger in his study of this poem, the Rylands manuscript is catalogued thus :

"C² Haigh, Bibliotheca Lindesiana, Earl of Crawford, K.T., V, (V²) A.J." ¹

Although the manuscript was lent to Dr. Stürzinger when he was editing these poems he does not seem to have used it with reference to the first Pilgrimage. It is only in the editions of the other poems, from l. 2811 of the second onwards, that he gives the variant readings of the MS. C². In the preface to *Le Pèlerinage de l'Ame* (London, 1895), he says, "When the impression was as far advanced as this line (i.e. 2811) Mr. Gibbs, the Vice-President of the Roxburghe Club, was informed of the existence of this MS. by its present owner, Lord Crawford, who then most graciously allowed the manuscript to be transmitted to Paris and inspected by me at the English Embassy. I am indebted to Mr. Gibbs for the collation of the proofs with this MS."

As he says nothing of the text of the first poem we may conclude from the fact that he classes it as V (V²), that he did not wish to commit himself to any decision as to which recension of the poem had been copied. ²

From the textual point of view, the chief interest of the Rylands manuscript is that it contains a poem which is neither a copy of the first recension nor of the second, but of both. Apart from some slight variations, the beginning and end of the poem in the Rylands manuscript are the same as those of the 1330 version.

¹ V = *Le Pèlerinage de Vie humaine*, 1st recension, 1330.

V² = *Le Pèlerinage de Vie humaine*, 2nd recension, 1355.

A = *Le Pèlerinage de l'Ame*.

J = *Le Pèlerinage Jhesucrist*.

² Miss Locock definitely classes the Crawford MS. as V². "As above noted, the second recension of Deguilleville's poem, which is the version afterwards put into English by Lydgate, exists in England in MS. in Lord Crawford's library" (p. lxx. *op. cit.*).

1330 (*Stürzinger*).

A ceuz de ceste region
 Qui point n'i ont de mansion
 Ains y sont tous com dit Saint Pol
 Riche, povre, sage et fol,
 Soient roys, soient roynes
 Pelerins et pelerines
 Une vision veul nuncier
 Qui en dormant m'avint l'autrier

St., ll. 1-8.

Rylands MS.

A Ceulx de ceste Region
 Qui point ny ont de mansion
 Ains y sont tout com dit S' pol
 Riche poure saige et fol
 Soient roys ou soient roynes
 Pelerins ou pelerines
 Une vision vueil noncier
 Qui en dormant mauint lautrier

R., f. 1 r., l.

This similarity of text continues as far as l. 1059 St., and f. 9 r., 1 R., where the following divergence occurs:—

Quant fuy ainsi reconforte
 De Grace qui m'out avise
 Tantost au prone vi aler
 Dame Raison pour sermonner,
 "Seigneurs, dist elle, entendez moy
 Vostre profit y gist, ce croy
 Regardez bien le grant bien fait
 Et le grant bien que vous a fait
 Grace (de) Dieu qui est venue
 Huy pour vous et descendue.
 Considerez quiex dons par ly
 Vous a Moyses departy
 Quar le glaive vous a baillie
 Que Dieu pour li avoit forgie
 Pour garder que n'entrast pecheur
 Ou pais dont il est seigneur

Puis que ainsi fu aise
 De grace et bien reconforte
 Au prosne vy tantost aler
 Dame raison pour sermonner
 Seigneurs dist elle entendez moy
 Vostre proffit y gist ce croy

Ung glaive vous est hui baillie
 Qui anciennement forgie

Or entendez quel glaive c'est
 Comment aus folz perilleus est
 Combien cil qui en veut user
 Le doit cremir et redoubter

Fu pour garder que nul nentrast
 En paradis ne napprouchast
 Fors par celui qui le tenoit
 Cherubin qui portier estoit
 Or entendez quel glaive cest
 Comment aus folz perilleus est

Le glaive de .iii. choses sert
 Quar quant aucun paine dessert
 Il fiert de pointe ou de taillant
 Ou fiert de plat en espargnant

ll. 1059-1082 St.

Qui aidier ne sen sauroient
 Ou qui trop mal en useroient
 Le glaive de trois choses sert
 Car quant aucun paine dessert
 Il fiert de pointe et de taillant
 Ou fiert de plat en espargnant

f. 9 r., 1 R.

From this point in the poem there are many differences between the 1330 text and that of the MS. R.

Additions to the 1330 poem found in MS. R.

1. The story of the prelate who cursed a cherry tree.	40 ¹
2. Of the delegation of power.	69
3. A quotation from the writings of St. Paul concerning charity.	6
4. Additional details in the Testament of Christ.	
5. Of the script and the staff ; the Pilgrim's eyes are placed in his ears.	174
6. The three Latin hymns.	
7. Of the girdle of Perseverance.	12
8. The Pilgrim's complaint that he has no armour for his legs.	76
9. Conversation with Toil.	
10. Of Moral Virtue.	140
11. Conversation with Mortification of the Body.	126
12. Of the Wheel of Sensuality.	
13. Conversation with Venus ; of the <i>Roman de la Rose</i> .	200
14. Conversation with Necromancy's messenger. Of the Duke of Frisia.	344
15. The meeting with Ovid.	

These 15 incidents are included in the 1355 recension, but the poem in the MS. R. does not completely resemble the 1355 version which contains twenty-eight passages not found in the 1330 poem. Two of the six amplifications of the 1330 version found in that of 1355 occur in the Rylands poem :—

1. Of the drops of blood on the scrip.	12-40
2. To Sloth's three ropes two more are added.	

But the Rylands poem omits certain passages of the first recension :

1. Nature's complaint to Grace of God.	1829-1980 St.
2. The martyrdom of St. Stephen.	3571-3672
3. Of Pride's bellows.	7736-7778
4. Of the Pharisee and the Publican.	8007-8080
5. The description of Flattery's mirror.	8155-8186
6. Several details in the character of Anger.	8858-8872
7. Conclusion to Book II.	9009-9054
8. Judas' character.	9409-9426
9. Further details of the hands Cutpurse and Simony.	
10. Of the woodcutters and the zodiac.	9611-9724
11. The Pilgrim's complaint.	10703-10750
12. He receives the staff from Grace of God.	10751-10888
13. Sixteen verses of the A.B.C. prayer.	

¹ The numbers indicate the lines added.

In the 1355 version, passages 1, 2, 3, 6, 7, and 9 are also omitted, but 3, 5, 6, 8, 9, and 11 are included as are the sixteen verses of the prayer.

We have indicated ¹ three considerable changes in the order of events in the 1355 recension as compared with that of the 1330 poem.

In the Rylands version the discussion on the Body and Soul is placed after the encounter with Natural Understanding, as in the 1330 recension, but the appearance of Youth, the episode of the tub of tears, the meeting with Satan, Heresy and Tribulation, the commissions of Adonai and Satan occur as in the 1355 recension. In the Rylands version, the A.B.C. prayer comes after Tribulation's attack, whilst it is placed after Gluttony's assault in both the 1330 and 1355 versions.

There are two possible explanations of this third version. The Rylands manuscript offers either a composite poem made by some scribe—perhaps the scribe of the Rylands manuscript himself—or a copy of a new version of the first *Pèlerinage* written by Deguileville himself. If we suppose that we have here a composite poem, various problems arise. There seems to be no reason why the scribe should give himself the trouble of writing out a mixed version of the two poems before him—for it is obvious from the textual similarity of the Rylands poem with the two versions that he must have had both recensions at hand. If from f. 9 r., 1, the Rylands poem closely resembled the 1355 version, we might suppose that when the copyist had reached this point in the 1330 poem, he had decided to copy henceforward the 1355 poem since it was, in the author's opinion at least, a distinct improvement on the earlier one. But this is not so; the mixture of the two versions is not nearly so simple. Nor is it obvious what plan has been followed in this new version. If the scribe thought, as well he might, that the poem needed some improvement, it is difficult to understand why, having altered a ridiculous passage (the Rylands poem describes Envy's lances as being in her hands and not in her eyes as in the 1330 and 1355 versions), and having left out some wearisome episodes

¹ P. 187.

of the 1330 poem, such as Nature's complaint, he should retain from the 1355 poem equally tiring descriptions as that of the Wheel of Fortune or an absurd incident such as the placing of the Pilgrim's eyes in his ears.

This theory of a composite version is, however, only conjectural, for the scribe tells us nothing of himself, nor does he offer any account of the copying of the poem, nor of the person for whom it was copied.

The second theory, that the Rylands manuscript contains a third version of Deguileville's poem written by the author himself, seems at first almost incredible. One hesitates to think that Deguileville wrote this one poem three times, yet such a performance would not have been impossible for a man of his character. It is harder to believe that he could remain silent for almost twenty-five years when the poem in its original form so greatly displeased him. There seems to be no reason for this silence when we consider the poet's extraordinary output between 1355 and 1358. In those three years he completed the second recension of *Le Pèlerinage de Vie humaine*, wrote *Le Pèlerinage de l'Ame*, several Latin hymns, summaries of *Le Pèlerinage de Vie humaine* (2nd recension), and *Le Pèlerinage de l'Ame*, and began his third poem, *Le Pèlerinage Jhesucrist*. How then are we to account for so long a period of inactivity during his prime?

The version of the first poem as given in the Rylands manuscript makes no mention of the theft of the poet's manuscript. This would seem to justify our placing this version between those of 1330 and 1355, and our assuming that soon after the completion of the first recension, Deguileville began to re-write his poem with a view to perfecting it. He added new incidents, introduced new characters, amplified certain episodes, changed the order of events in the poem and omitted certain passages in the 1330 version :

- | | |
|-------------------------------------------------------------|---------------|
| 1. The description of Pride's bellows. | 7736-7778 St. |
| 2. Of Flattery's mirror. | 8155-8186 St. |
| 3. Judas' character. | 9409-9426 St. |
| 4. Further details of Avarice's hands, Cutpurse and Simony. | |
| 5. Sixteen verses of the A.B.C. prayer. | |

The place of the A.B.C. prayer and the omission of these passages which all find a place in the 1355 version are perhaps the only hindrance to our definitely placing this version between those of 1330 and 1355. It may be that Deguileville decided to omit certain passages and to put the prayer after Tribulation's attack, and then changed his mind in 1355, and inserted these passages again, with the prayer in its original position.

This new version is not divided into four books as is the first recension, but into three, and after the beginning of the second book there are no remarks addressed to an audience. Perhaps the author was already beginning to realise that the poem was becoming too long to be read aloud as he had originally intended.

It would seem then almost certain that we have in the Rylands manuscript a third version of the *Pèlerinage de Vie humaine*. If this is so, we can better understand Deguileville's story of the theft of his manuscript. It is hard to believe that he could let twenty-five years pass without any reference to his loss, and since he does not mention it in the Prologue to the intermediate version it is likely that he refers in the 1355 poem to the theft of the manuscript of this version which in his opinion was still imperfect. So he describes once more and in still greater detail in 1355 his marvellous dream of 1330.

I have not been able to determine the history and provenance of this manuscript. There is nothing outside the text which might help to establish its place in relation to the others. Any consideration of the poem from the linguistic point of view is made more difficult by the fact that this text, like that of most manuscripts has been corrected. Deguileville wrote his French poems in rhyming octosyllabic couplets. His verse is, however, peculiar in that the feminine lines have the same number of syllables as the masculine lines so that in the former the accent falls on the seventh syllable, and in the latter on the eighth. This system of versification was not invented by Deguileville, for we find it used in the "Breviari d'Amor" of Matfré Ermengaud de Beziers, a Provençal poem of the thirteenth century, and in many of the troubadour songs. None the less this irregularity so scandalised the copyists that they all tried to correct Deguileville's verse. Generally they added a mono-

syllabic word to the feminine lines, but sometimes they changed a whole couplet in order to regularise it.¹

The few manuscripts which I have been able to examine in Paris contain either the 1330 poem or that of 1355. For the others I have largely depended on the *incipit* and *explicit* given in various catalogue descriptions. Since the first and last lines of the poem in the Rylands manuscript are identical with those of the 1330 poem it is possible that other manuscripts exist containing this new version.

¹ In his book, *A One-Text Print of Chaucer's Minor Poems* (London, 1868-1880), Dr. Furnivall quotes the 25 verses of Deguileville's A.B.C. prayer, which are edited by Paul Meyer from MS. 1645 (Bibl. Nat. fonds français) and here referred to as A, and collated with the MSS. 1649—B, 376—C, and 377—D in the same collection. Two verses are quoted here:—

A toy du monde le refui,	
Vierge glorieuse, m'enfui	
Tout confus, ne puis miex faire ;	3
A toy me tien, a toy m'apuy.	
Relieve moy, abatu suy :	
Vaincu m'a mon aversaire	6
Puis qu'en toy ont tous repaire	
Bien me doy vers toy retraire	
Avant que j'aie plus d'annuy	9
N'est pas luite neccessaire	
A moy, se tu, debonnayre,	
Ne me sequeurs comme a autrui	12
Bien voy que par toy confortés	
Sera mes cuers desconfortés	
Quar tu es de salu porte.	15
Se je me suis mal tresportez	
Par. vii. larrons, pechiés mortez,	
Et erre par voie torte,	18
Esperance me conforte	
Qui à toy hui me raporte	
A ce que soie deportez.	21
Ma povre arme je t'aporte	
Sauve la : ne vaut que morte :	
En li sont tous bien avortez.	24

3. A. quar ne 6. A. mon grant aversaire. . . . 7. A. Et puis qu'a 8. A. doy dont 10. A. tel lite 11. A.C. se tu com. B. se tu veulx dame debonnaire. 12. B. Donne secour comme a autrui. 15. A.C.D. salut la. . . . 16. D. transportés ; B. tres mal portés. 18. A. Par la. . . . 19. A. reconforte. 20. A. si me. . . . 21. B. sache deporter. 22. A. te raporte ; C.D. je t'aporte. 23. A. vaut miex. D. vaut plus. 24. A. bien.

Summaries of the Three Versions of the "Pèlerinage de Vie Humaine."

1330, from *Stürzinger's*
edition.

Rylands Manuscript.

1355, from *Vérard's*
print.

Prologue to the poem. The author tells of the vision
which he has had. (34 lines.)

Prologue to the poem.
Of the theft of the manu-
script.

The envoy to the poem.
(91 lines.)

Description of Jerusalem and of the martyrs who enter.
(50 ll.)

Of Jerusalem and the
martyrs. (82 ll.)

Of the different ways of entering Jerusalem by the Saints Augustine, Benedict and
Francis. (72 ll.)

Description of the wicket gate. (38 ll.)

The wicket gate. (22 ll.)

The Pilgrim sets out on his journey and meets Grace of God who offers to guide him.

Grace of God describes
herself. (85 ll.)

Grace of God describes
herself. (85 ll.)

Grace of God takes the Pilgrim into her house and he is baptised.

Grace of God's speech
concerning baptism. (228
ll.)

Grace of God speaks to the Pilgrim of the scrip and staff. He sees an official who gives
three kinds of ointment to the ministers of the Church. Reason comes down from her
tower and speaks to them.

The marriage of two pilgrims, one of whom comes from
the east and the other from the west. (11 ll.)

The marriage of the two
pilgrims. (36 ll.)

The story of the prelate who cursed a cherry tree. (40 ll.)

The Pilgrim asks for the sword and the keys.

The story of the sons of Zebedee. (8 ll.)

Of the delegation of power. (71 ll.)

Moses gives to the Pilgrim a sheathed sword and tied keys. Moses changes the bread
and wine into flesh and blood. Reason returns to her tower and Nature complains to
Grace of God.

Nature complains again
to Grace of God. (146 ll.)

Nature asks pardon of Grace of God who sends for Charity and Penitence who are to
instruct the Pilgrim.

A quotation from the writings of St. Paul. (8 ll.)

Charity reads the Testament of Jesus Christ.

1330, from Stürzinger's
edition.

Rylands Manuscript.

1355, from Vêrard's
print.

He bequeaths the jewel
of peace to the world.
(130 ll.)

He leaves His soul to God, His body to pilgrims, His
head to those who obey His laws, His mother to St. John,
His blood as a ransom, His wounds to the penitent, His
tongue as an advocate and the jewel of peace to the world.
(112 ll.)

Reason speaks again. The pilgrims and the ministers of the Church take the jewel
of peace and are struck by Penitence. They receive the bread from Moses. Grace of
God explains why so little bread is enough for all. Conversation between Aristotle and
Wisdom.

Grace of God give the
scrip and staff to the Pil-
grim. (14 ll.)

She describes the scrip and staff, puts the Pilgrim's eyes
in his ears and then gives him the scrip and staff. (174 ll.)

Description of the scrip with its twelve bells, and of the staff.

Grace of God explains
why the scrip is green.
(12 ll.)

Grace of God explains why the scrip is green. (40 ll.)
the significance of the twelve bells.

She explains
Of the blood on the scrip
and the martyrdom of St.
Stephen. (84 ll.)

The Pilgrim

puts on the scrip.

Grace of God

The Latin poem "Credo ego Catholicus."
gives the staff to the Pilgrim.

Two Latin Poems "Pater Creator omnium" and "Ave
reclinatorium."

She tells him that he
must arm himself.

The Pilgrim complains because his sword is not tipped
with iron. Grace of God's explanation.

She shows

him all the

armour.

She speaks to him

of his enemies (14 ll.)

She gives him the doublet "Patience," the habergeon "Strength," the gorget "So-
briety," the helmet "Temperance," the sword "Justice."

She also gives him the gloves of "Continence."

The Pilgrim asks for a sheath and is given the sheath
"Humility."

1330, from *Stürzinger's*
edition.

Rylands Manuscript.

1355, from *Vérard's*
print.

The sheath is made of
dead skin.

The sheath is named.
The sheath is made of dead
skin.

Of the

Of the sword-belt called
buckler called

"Perseverance."
"Prudence."

The Pilgrim asks for greaves. He is told that he will
be able to run more quickly from his enemies without them.

The Pilgrim begins to arm himself, but decides that the arms are too heavy and takes
only the scrip and staff. Grace of God gives him David's sling and five stones.

She sends for Memory, whose eyes are in her neck, to
carry the Pilgrim's armour.

She reproves the Pilgrim.

She tells him that he is now ready to journey to Jerusalem.

Grace of God explains the dangers of the journey. She
despises him because he cannot carry his armour.

She reproves him again
and he decides to argue no
more with her.

He begs Grace of God not to leave him.

A discussion on the body
and the soul. (705 ll.)

The Pilgrim's soul is
separated from his body.
He sees an ant on a sand
heap.
the Pilgrim.

Grace of

God leaves

End of

Book I.

Beginning of

Book II.

The Pilgrim continues his journey and meets Natural Understanding. Reason comes
to his rescue, bringing a commission from Grace of God.

The Pilgrim reads this commission.

Reason reads the com-
mission.
Natural Understanding.

Reason

argues with

Further argument

between them.

Reason reproves the Pilgrim because he cannot remember
what Grace of God has said to him.

A discussion on the body and the soul. The Pilgrim's
soul is separated from his body.

Reason shows him an ant
on a sand heap.

Further details of the body and soul. (60 ll.)

1330, from *Stürzinger's*
edition.

Rylands Manuscript.

1355, from *Vérard's*
print.

The Pilgrim asks Reason to accompany him. She says that she is always with him though hidden by the clouds. The Pilgrim continues his journey.

He meets Youth who promises to go with him.

He comes to a forked path and sees a hedge. On the left, Idleness, on the right Toil. The Pilgrim asks which way he must go. Toil says that her way is the better.

The Pilgrim argues with Toil about her work.

She explains that she is working so that she may not be lazy.

The Pilgrim sees Youth and his Body in friendly conversation.

The Body begins to flatter the Pilgrim and tells him to talk to Idleness. He asks her his way and she tells him that his body has given him good advice.

She is Idleness the daughter of Sloth.

The Pilgrim goes on his way and sees a wall with three gateways. A beautiful lady speaks to him and tells him that she is Moral Virtue.

Further details about
Moral Virtue. (46 ll.)

She tells him that there is only one good path.

The Pilgrim sees a body hanging on a cross.

Conversation between the body and Mortification of the flesh. Grace of God comes and shows to the Pilgrim the Wheel of Sensuality. (306 ll.)

She then leaves him and Youth appears. She offers to carry the Pilgrim and then flies with him on her back over the hedge of Penitence.

Gluttony arrives and describes herself to the Pilgrim. Venus in the guise of a hog, speaks to him of her enemy Virginité and the Roman de la Rose. Gluttony seizes the Pilgrim and fastens him to the hog. The Pilgrim is saved because Venus and Gluttony see a rich pilgrim and attack him.

Idleness comes to the Pilgrim and he follows her path. He hears Grace of God speaking to him. She tells him that Penitence planted the hedge in order to have rods. The Pilgrim tries to find a hole in the hedge. Reason comes. The Pilgrim blames her for having left him.

The Pilgrim tries to find a hole in the hedge. He is caught by some ropes held by an old woman Sloth. She describes all her evil deeds.

She makes the captain of a ship fall asleep during a storm. She causes thistles and weeds to grow in gardens.

She makes the captain of a ship fall asleep during a storm. She causes thistles and weeds to grow in gardens.

1330, from *Stürzinger's*
edition.

Rylands Manuscript.

1355, from *Vérard's*
print.

Sloth tells the Pilgrim of her ropes Negligence, Cowardice.

Of two other ropes Faintheart and Fearful.

Of Judas'

rope

Despair

Sloth strikes the Pilgrim and drags him far from the hedge. The white dove saves him. Sloth attacks him again.

She takes her axe and strikes the Pilgrim but he remembers his scrip and staff. Sloth drives him far from the hedge.

The Pilgrim sees two old women coming towards him. He regrets having come to a land ruled by women.

Grace of God tells him that he is going to suffer, and that the old women will tell him their names.

They describe themselves. First Pride. She tells him of her cloak, her staff, her horn, her spurs and the horn in her head.

Of Pride's bellows.

Of Pride's bellows.

Of the Pharisee and the Publican.

Flattery

speaks in

her turn.

She describes her mirror.

She describes her mirror.

An old woman appears, carrying two others on her back. She is called Envy. One of the others, Treachery, wants to attack the Pilgrim, but her sister, Detraction, stops her because she wishes to describe herself.

Both wish to attack the Pilgrim; Detraction wishes to make him fall from his horse. The Pilgrim does not know that he is on horseback. Detraction describes the horse, Good Renown. Detraction, Treachery and Envy attack the Pilgrim. He holds his staff firmly.

Memory reminds him of his arms; he takes his sword and buckler. The dove comes to help him.

Another old woman comes to attack the Pilgrim and threatens to kill him.

Memory reminds him of his arms but Idleness prevents his taking them.

He takes his sword from Memory and the dove comes to his aid.

Tribulation arrives; she reads to the Pilgrim the commissions of Adonai and Satan; she uses the latter's. Anger goes away. Tribulation rushes on the Pilgrim. He remembers a prayer.

1330, from Stürzinger's
edition.

Rylands Manuscript.

1355, from Vêrard's
print.

The A.B.C. prayer.

A Latin prayer of Saint
Bernard.

Since he has not let fall his staff Tribulation leaves him.

The Pilgrim goes on his
way and sees a fearful valley.

End of Book II.

Beginning of Book III.

The Pilgrim sees coming towards him an old woman with six hands, who is carrying on her head an idol, Mahomet. She is Avarice ; she describes her six hands.

Two of the hands, Cut-
purse and Simony are de-
scribed in greater detail.

Two of the hands, Cut-
purse and Simony are de-
scribed in greater detail.

Of stillborn children.

Of Avarice's
She explains her hunch-
back.

tongue,

Perjury.

She explains her hunch-
back.

Of the idol
Gluttony threatens the
Pilgrim. Venus arrives.
The Pilgrim is beaten.

on her

head.

Youth arrives. Avarice threatens to attack the Pilgrim if he does not go with Youth. He hears someone speaking a language he does not know. It is Necromancy's messenger who says that the Pilgrim must visit his mistress. When the Pilgrim refuses he is told that he is like the Duke of Frisia who prefers Hell with his friends to Heaven without them. Necromancy approaches, carrying a sword, and a book called *Hic incipit mors animae*. The dove arrives and Necromancy goes away.

End of Book II.

Beginning of Book III.

The Pilgrim meets Heresy who wishes to cut his scrip. She shows him her father, Satan, who spreads snares to catch souls. He shows the Pilgrim the sea of the world where souls are caught.

The story of the hermit
who unwittingly killed his
father.

The Pilgrim escapes from Satan by making the sign of the Cross.

The Pilgrim sees the
Wheel of Fortune.

1330, from *Stürzinger's*
edition.

The Pilgrim, threatened by Gluttony, laments. Grace of God gives him his staff and tells him to pray. She gives him a scroll containing the A.B.C. prayer. She shows him the tub filled with the tears of Penitence. The Pilgrim bathes in it and Grace of God leaves him. The Pilgrim laments.

End of Book III.

Beginning of Book IV.

The Pilgrim meets Satan who is catching souls in his snares. Heresy comes to help him. She wishes to cut the Pilgrim's scrip. Grace of God saves him. She explains to him the sea of the world. Youth comes and flies over the sea with the Pilgrim on her back. Tribulation arrives and threatens the Pilgrim. She reads her commission and attacks the Pilgrim who is saved by Grace of God.

Rylands Manuscript.

1355, from *Vérard's*
print.

The Pilgrim laments. The dove brings him a scroll containing the A.B.C. prayer.

The Pilgrim comes to a hillock and meets Astrology, Geomancy, Idolatry, Sorcery, and Conspiracy, who, with their dogs, attack him. They go away and he then meets the Siren who throws him into the sea; but he escapes.

He crosses the sea and arrives at an island where he rests.

He rests on an island.

The Pilgrim sees the Ship of Religion. Grace of God is there and the Pilgrim joins her. She shows him the tub filled with the tears of Penitence. He bathes in it.

1330, from Stürzinger's
edition.

Rylands Manuscript.

1355, from Vêrard's
print.

Grace of God invites him to choose his dwelling on the Ship.

He chooses the Cistercian monastery.

He meets the porter, Fear of God, who strikes him before letting him enter.

He meets Poverty, Prayer,

He meets Obedience,

etc.

Poverty, etc.

Obedience binds the Pilgrim's hands and feet and closes his mouth.

Envy and Treachery, with their dogs, attack the Pilgrim.

Conversation between

Envy and Treachery.

The Pilgrim struggles with his enemies and breaks his arms and a leg. Ovid comes to console him.

Acrostic, in French and
Latin verse, on GUILLER-
MUS DE DEGUILE-
VILLA.

The king returns to the
castle and orders the porter
to guard the gate better.

The Pilgrim, accompanied
by Grace of God, visit
other monasteries where he
meets Sterility, Apostacy,
etc.

Infirmity and Old Age come to prepare the Pilgrim for Death. Pity consoles him.

The porter brings Alms
and Prayer to accompany
the Pilgrim. The story of
King Jehosaphat who reigned
for a year. Eulogy of Saint
Louis.

Death comes. She separates the Pilgrim's soul from his body and strikes him with her
scythe. The bell rings for matins and the poet awakes.

HERFORD AND INTERNATIONAL LITERATURE.¹

THE FOURTH HERFORD MEMORIAL LECTURES.

BY LASCELLES ABERCROMBIE, M.A., Litt.D., D.Lit.

HILDRED CARLILE PROFESSOR OF ENGLISH LITERATURE IN THE UNIVERSITY OF LONDON.

TO be askt to give one of a series of lectures designed to commemorate Charles Harold Herford is an honor of which anyone might be proud. But it is an honor of which I may legitimately be rather specially proud. For I was a student in this University when Herford was a Professor here. As I resume for a moment the sensation of those far-off times, it comes upon me with a shock of strange surprise that it should be I who am giving this lecture; and very keenly in consequence do I feel the honor I have in doing so.

I can very easily resume the sensation of my student days in one matter at least; and that is, in the remarkable impression Herford's personality made on me. That in itself, I admit, gives me no qualification for standing before you now: yet there are circumstances about it which may, I like to think, do something of the kind. For I was not one of his students. I was taking Science. I knew nothing about him. Of what he was in the academic world, of what he stood for in his subject, of his learning, his powers, his reputation—I had no notion. He was but a passing spectacle, a human object disinterestedly observed. If I were to describe my recollections of him, you would see nothing in them: casual encounters in corridors, or the sight of him crossing a court. Yet from those glimpses some emanation came home to me, and the image of them remains. When, many years later, I knew Herford as a colleague and a

¹ Delivered in the University of Manchester, on Wednesday, the 3rd October, 1934, under the auspices of the Manchester Dante Society.

friend, I used to wonder at this : not indeed at the kind of impression he made on me, but that I should have been able, by a sort of thoughtless intuition, to divine the man I had come to know so well, and receive the impression of him. To explain it, I should have to invoke the anthropologists' doctrine of *mana*—the unaccountable, unanalyzed air certain natures have of being *something extraordinary*. Yes, long before Herford knew me, I knew him, and somehow knew the man he was, by some dark irrational mode.

I say, the man. When I came to know him, that of course meant also the scholar and the critic. But the man was greater than the scholar and the critic. This, however, is not the occasion for an appreciation of Herford's remarkable and much-loved personality ; nor am I the right person for that. I wish rather to say something of what he has left to posterity. Doubtless, in the case of a teacher like Herford, his chief monument is his pupils ; for I suppose no teacher of our time has had more devoted pupils, or better deserved to have them. Such a teacher is what Heine declared Moses to have been : an artist whose material is human nature, forming and informing the mind and spirit of men and women ; and such an art goes on working incalculably. But this is a monument which cannot be described ; my business is with what he has left us of a more measurable nature. I wish to speak of one aspect of his work as a critic, subordinating to that topic his equally important work as a scholar.

By a *critic*, I mean what is often called a literary or æsthetic critic ; one whose function it is to assess and expound the *artistic* merit and significance of literature. There is, of course, the criticism which belongs strictly to scholarship : textual criticism, and that which deals with canons and attributions, dates and allusions, origins and growth, influence received and influence exerted, and so on. With all this I am not now concerned ; but only with the criticism which looks to such questions as, Is this a good piece of literature ? In what way is it good, and to what degree, and why ? But it will be part of my case, that one reason why Herford was great as a critic in this sense was precisely that he was a great scholar. How great a scholar

he was I need not stop to remind you. His field was immense : though of course scholarship is not to be valued by the area it covers. When one surveys his whole achievement, the wonder comes to be, not so much the security with which his mind could move, vividly responding and keenly analyzing, through the literatures of France, Germany, Italy, Scandinavia, Russia, besides his own and the classics of antiquity, as that any European literature should be absent from the list of his familiar studies : as, at any rate, these appear in his writings. One asks oneself, for instance, why not Spanish and Portuguese ? Perhaps it simply was, that he did not happen to write about them. For the commonplace doctrine, that a man, even in his own line, cannot know everything, hardly seems to apply to Herford. This, however, is only an instinctive tribute to his vast range. What is really astonishing is the harmony and profound organization of his many-tongued culture : that is the important thing in the view of him I wish to take. With each language he conquered, he did not simply tack on a new province to his empire. His whole culture absorbed what he gained from it, and completely integrated this with what he already possessed. Old experiences were enriched by the new, the new were penetrated by what the old had given him. Look, for instance, at his admirable sketch of Shakespearean influence on the Continent. Russian was one of his later acquisitions ; and in that paper he deals chiefly with the significance of Shakespeare in the literary histories of Germany, France and Russia. But he does not merely *add* his account of Shakespeare in Russia to the other two, he does not merely *compare* them : all three topics are thoroughly interdependent, and as it were suppose each other. His Russian studies, we see, had not simply extended his knowledge, but added a new and richer color to the value of what he knew already ; so that Shakespeare in Russia was for him not only a topic interesting for its own sake : it took its appointed place in his mind as an organic part of a process of European scope ; as such he perceived it, and as such he described it. This is typical.

It is not difficult to detect some slips and inaccuracies in his work : not difficult, for they are mostly on the surface.

They do not discredit the integrity of his scholarship. Herford wrote from a full mind ; and I take it that he was apt to rely on memory instead of referring to the text. We all know what tricks memory, even the most confident, can play us. Thus in his *Wordsworth* (a poet he knew through and through) he puts Sertorius for Mithridates as the subject of Wordsworth's youthful epic ambition ; more surprisingly, he makes Sir Walter, the Knight in the first part of *Hart-Leap Well*, the Shepherd's "passive listener" in the second part, instead of the poet himself. Such glaring and pointless blunders can have only one explanation. Sometimes, or so it seems, a purely verbal memory misled him. *The Divine Comedy* was part of the very tissue of his mind : yet he speaks of "the terrific passage in which St. Peter, *his face scarlet with anger*, denounces Boniface." How did he come to remember so positively St. Peter's scarlet face here ? For St. Peter has not got a face at all in this passage : he is a star, a shining light ; and it is *this* which reddens. I suggest that to Herford's recollection of the passage (which in substance—St. Peter's denunciation—is clear enough) the word *face* was somewhat loosely attached—*le quattro face stavano accese* ; and somehow *face* got turned in his memory into *faccia* or *faccie*. These are trivial blemishes ; yet not perhaps unworthy of notice, as indications of the way Herford worked, relying on the vast stores of his memory : usually, of course, with perfect safety : his occasional slips only emphasize that. How otherwise indeed could he have held so great a stock of knowledge and experience in such perfect organization ? Doubtless it is more serious when he misunderstands and consequently misinterprets Leopardi's great ode *Il Pensiero Dominante*. But I do not think this can be accounted for, as Professor Gardner seems to suggest, by his curious mistranslation of the title as *Thought the Master*. A glance at the poem itself would surely have told him what it was really about, and that he had gone wrong. He cannot have glanced at it : I can only believe that here again he was relying on his memory ; and in his memory the meaning of the poem had somehow got oddly twisted. But on the whole, in considering Herford as a critic of the art of literature, we must start by remembering that his is the

criticism of one who was a very great scholar : a term which must refer not only to the scope of his information, but to its quality and validity as well.

Now the essential function of criticism is to assess and expound merit, artistic merit. What has scholarship to do with this ? For it can surely be argued that in the assessment and exposition of merit, nothing more is needed than delicacy and depth of response, and the power to analyze and express it. This is certainly not a merely theoretical argument : what more than this was there in the criticism of Charles Lamb ? But though we may sum up criticism in a general formula, it is not all of one kind : there are many kinds, and each may have many phases and degrees. What we call merit is not a one-sided affair. A work of art is not simply an object, but an object experienced ; and merit may—indeed, notoriously does—vary with the experiencer. Work may have merit for a scholar which it has not for others : I do not mean by that historical or sociological or any other interest which, however important, is æsthetically superfluous ; I mean strictly artistic merit. If so, it is his business as a critic to expound it. And certainly, in some matters—in technique, for instance—without knowledge criticism is likely to be, at least, impercipient. And as soon as knowledge comes in, scholarship comes in.

But there is another way of looking at this matter. Merit in a work of art must always be individual merit. It is doubly individualized, so to speak, by the nature of the person who creates the work, and the nature of the person who receives it. With the unique essence of this resulting individuality, the kind of criticism of which Charles Lamb's is the great example is perfectly capable of dealing. Scholarship is not needed. Lamb had considerable scholarship ; but he kept it out of his criticism. It had no function there. But in fact this kind of criticism is unusual. Few critics can help attending to the circumstances of a work of art : in the time and place of its author, in his biography, in his character in affairs outside his art, and so on. Now this *requires* scholarship, if anything valuable is to come of it : it requires the accuracy and fullness of knowledge, the tact and proportion, the scrupulousness and sense of scientific re-

sponsibility, which only scholarship can give. But it is very much easier to discourse on the circumstances round about literature without scholarship ; and the effect may be more amusing. The limitations which scholarship puts on this facility, and on its results, are often disliked, and sometimes resented. The late Frank Harris, that picturesque adventurer, part genius, part charlatan, part cad, exploded into abusive fury when Herford poured the cold water of scholarship on to his straw bonfire of Shakespearean criticism. The affair, I dare say, is forgotten now ; but it will be remembered that a few years ago Herford's *Wordsworth* came out almost at the same time as two other critical studies of that poet, Mr. Read's and Mr. Fausset's. Nothing could demonstrate better than the contrast between Herford's work and these two, the difference between scholarly and unscholarly criticism. Herford's book is in some respects disappointing ; it was done under harassing conditions, and for me, at any rate, the tone is pitchd too low. But it is still to-day what it was when it was first publisht—an admirable piece of sane and just criticism, the only considerable study of Wordsworth's life-work as a whole which takes account of our latest knowledge of him. But newspapers and reviews, and apparently the intelligent public in general, found it much less interesting than the other two, in which, wholly uncontrolled by scholarship, that peculiar sort of free speculation which is sometimes called psychology, and enthusiastic misinterpretation of the evidence, produced very exciting and totally useless results.—But we must follow Herford's work into regions which are not likely to attract a critic unless he *is* a scholar ; in which, indeed, criticism must work on materials which only scholarship can provide. These regions belong to the sphere of what has been called international literature. It will be best to mount there by stages.

The merit of a work of art is indeed *focust* in the unique essence of its individuality ; and to seize on this may be regarded as the task of criticism in its simplest and purest activity. But when criticism takes into account the circumstances of a work of art, it is not therefore declining from its duty of assessing artistic merit. For a work of art is individual in just the same

way as a person is, being indeed the expression of a personality (though that, of course, is only half the story). A person can only exist, can only be conceived as existing, *in circumstances* : individuality supposes the world in which it occurs. To know *about* a man will help you to know the man himself. Just so it is with a work of art. Study of its circumstances may be æsthetically irrelevant, however interesting ; but it may also be so entirely relevant, that the better we know the circumstances, the more we understand the peculiar individuality of the work of art : we see more in it, and appreciation of its merit is the richer. Now the immediate circumstances of a work of art are the life of its author—and especially the life of its author as an artist. Accordingly, the next stage in the ascent of criticism is to study an author in his whole career ; for each individual work of his should come to mean more to us when we can see it in its place in the order of his lifework ; its artistic merit may not be improved thereby, but our perception of the nature of its merit should be. But criticism cannot even begin to work at this stage unless it has scholarship to work on : not only the matter, but the temper and methods of scholarship. What Herford could do in criticism at this level, the *Wordsworth* monograph, already mentioned, and the introductions to the Oxford *Ben Jonson*, sufficiently show. But for sheer virtuosity in this kind of criticism, nothing can beat those miniature masterpieces, those two precious sixpennyworths, the *Shakespeare* and the *Goethe* he wrote for "The People's Books."

But as each work of art has its place in the progress of its author's career, so the author's career has its place in the progress of the national tradition of his art. A man lives in his nation : he is what he is because his nation is what it is : and as he is, so must his art be. The next stage of criticism is then the stage of literary history : the criticism of literature in the light of national tradition. But the principle is the same. Scholarship should improve our understanding of the individual nature of an artist, by showing us how he stands in history ; and to improve our understanding of the artist should be to improve our understanding of his work and of its merit. That is not always how it is with literary history : but that it

can be so we may see in Herford's handbook (well known to be invaluable) *The Age of Wordsworth*. Here we can see how authors become not less but more individual to us, when we can place them in their world.

The introduction to that excellent little book, however, puts English romanticism in precise connexion and mutual interdependence with similar energies in France and Germany. And so we come to the last stage in the ascent and enlargement of criticism, the stage of international literature. The term is Herford's own : he describes his masterly *Studies in the Literary Relations of England and Germany in the 16th Century* as being concerned with a certain "tract of international literature." What he means by the term here is clear enough : it refers to the *relations* between one literature and another, and the book in question is thus a contribution to the science usually known as *Comparative Literature*. That science has been especially cultivated in France : and it was apparently in France that its title originated. Admittedly it is not a good title : *comparative literature* might be expected to deal in *comparisons*—between one literary achievement and another, or between one author or one literature and another. It does nothing of the kind. Such an essay as Herford's comparison of Dante with Milton has nothing to do with it. It is strictly a science, the exhaustive collection and solid organization of facts : it is not concerned with *judgements*. Its business is, to investigate with complete objectivity the way the various national literatures have affected each other. To this end a very elaborate discipline has been set up and extensively practised, mainly in France ; and its devotees insist that it constitutes a distinct and autonomous domain. The question of merit does not come in at all : one of the first things you must learn in *Comparative Literature* is that the most worthless stuff may be of capital importance as an influence. But, of course, this very ignoring of merit may indirectly serve the ends of criticism, the assessment of merit. For this is one way of seeing how a national tradition builds itself up, assimilating all sorts of provender ; and it is in a national tradition that individual works of art occur, and the nature of their merit must in some sort acknowledge it.

But though Comparative Literature asserts its status as an autonomous discipline, it admits that its results may, and indeed in the long run must, serve a further purpose. This is to disengage, from the whole intricacy of mutual national influences, something which has been variously called European Literature, General Literature, World Literature (Goethe's term), or International Literature. Now some of Herford's writings do fall, as I have said, under the heading of Comparative Literature. Besides his great work on 16th Century Anglo-German relations, there are, for example, the essays on Shakespeare's effect on continental literature. But his are very far from typical specimens of Comparative Literature. For one thing, Herford could not be indifferent to artistic merit: indeed, his discussion is always limited by, and directed towards, the elucidation of merit: it did not seem to him worth while to discuss literature except for the purpose, open or implied, near or remote, of estimating its value. This is true even when he is at his most "scientific" as what the French call (or miscall) a "comparatist": as in his 16th Century Anglo-German studies. In any case, Comparative Literature—the study of relationships between one literature and another—was always with him frankly an approach towards International Literature. And several essays of his on kindred subjects discuss aspects of International Literature in a manner altogether independent of the methods of so-called Comparative Literature: such as the paper on Dante and Milton, the dialogue contrasting Goethe and Wordsworth, the discourse on the question *Is there a poetic View of the World?*

But what is International Literature? Shall we say, the literature which belongs to no particular nation, but to all nations in common? But how can there be any such thing? For is not literature of all the arts the one that is absolutely national, since its medium is the very stuff of nationality, language? True, there is the literature that goes everywhere, like Dante or Shakespeare; and we need not be put off by the objection that only Italians or Englishmen can truly understand it. Herford himself is a sufficient answer to that. Granted that Italian poetry can never mean to an Englishman what it means to an Italian,

unless it be an Englishman who has learned not merely to *think* but to *live* in Italian. But this is simply a question of degree, and does not affect the major affairs of criticism in modern literatures any more than in the literatures of antiquity, Greek and Latin, the finest and subtlest effects of which have gone for ever.

But international literature is not the same thing as cosmopolitan culture. In his paper on *Shakespeare and Descartes* (*Hibbert Journal*, Oct., 1925), Herford refers to a remark of Dr. A. C. Bradley's: "how in the age of Wordsworth and Coleridge, Hegel and Fichte, English poetry and German philosophy, though almost unconscious of one another, worked with the same prepossession, the sublime faith in the potency of the mind of man." This truth Herford himself had expounded with luminous clarity in the introduction to *The Age of Wordsworth*; and note that this is not a question of England and Germany influencing each other, but of both simultaneously manifesting, each in its own peculiar nationality, comparable habits of thought and feeling. The same introduction also demonstrates similar resemblances in the England and France of that time. Mutual influences come in; but there is the same appearance of two literatures also manifesting an influence common to both, and transcending both. Is there such an influence? And whence does it come? We should know that, if it could be shown how, emerging out of the various national literatures, a common stock of perpetually evolving literary tradition ascends to preside over European civilization as a whole, thence in restless circulation descending again into various national expression: as the waters of many climates are drawn up into the air, mingle there, and rain down again.

That is what Herford does show, taking a capital example, in his paper on *Descartes and Shakespeare*. He shows how the Cartesian temper of Europe, once supreme and unquestioned, and revealing itself in innumerable modes of national expression, gradually changed into something extraordinarily different as the international tradition received more and more of the power of Shakespeare, whose genius implied the England of his day as the mighty genius of Descartes implied the France of his.

And again the changed temper of Europe as a whole descends upon the literatures of the various peoples, and appears in many forms of *national* art. How it makes these national appearances is brilliantly expounded, in the three dominant cases of Germany, France and Russia (each infecting the countries intellectually allied to it), in *A Sketch of the History of Shakespeare's Influence on the Continent*, with its appended study of Pushkin (*A Russian Shakespearian*). I do not think anyone could look up from reading these three essays, and reflect on them, without feeling the reality of international literature; though more as a result of their whole effect than of anything exactly formulated in them.

The term *International Literature* should refer then not so much to the direct influence of nation upon nation (though that cannot, of course, be excluded from the meaning), as to the spirit of European literature as a whole—that infinitely complex, perpetually changing, yet perfectly continuous tradition, in which the genius of each particular nation lives and works in its own particular way, and to which, too, each may make its own contribution: just as the genius of each individual author lives and works in the tradition of his nation, and may contribute to it.

But taking the term *International Literature* in this sense, some objection may reasonably be made to the word *literature* in it. Strictly speaking, International Literature should only mean literature composed in an international language. Such a literature exists: the international language being, of course, Latin. It is one of the most discreditable things in our Universities, that practically no provision should be made for the study of the Latin literature of the middle ages and the renaissance. Classical scholars, who persist in antedating the death of Latin by a good deal more than a thousand years, are partly to blame for this deplorable state of things. But instead of apportioning the blame, let us agitate for the remedy. Medieval Latin literature has lately been coming into its own: but the vast Latin literature of the renaissance is still academically ignored. How unexpectedly interesting and intrinsically important some of it is, many, I dare say, have first understood

on reading the admirable chapter on Latin drama in Herford's *Studies in the Literary relations of England and Germany in the 16th Century*. I dare say, too, that it was after reading this chapter that many for the first time truly realized something of the immense services effected by such writings in forming an international tradition of literature. For centuries, in a Europe divided into nations, there had been contemporary literature composed in a language which knew no national boundaries.

But he who would write justly of any topic which may be referred to International Literature (in the broader and looser sense of the term) must never lose sight of nationalism. He must not ignore differences to bring out resemblances. Herford did not. It was through nationalism that he arrived at internationalism, in literature as in other matters. Speaking of political ideals, he said, "True internationalism is not the anti-thesis of nationalism but its completion and its crown." Just so in literature, knowledge of the international or European tradition completes and crowns our understanding of the various national traditions. The great thing is, to see the common factor *within* the differences. Thus, in the delightful dialogue on *Goethe and Wordsworth*, which he read as his presidential address to the Goethe Society, it is not by minimizing, it is rather by emphasizing, the profound divergence of the two geniuses, that Herford brings out what they have in common: and it is what each draws, each into perfectly individual expression, *from the time*, as we say—that is, from the temper of the European spirit in that age. But there are many ways of discussing international literature. It need not always be taken in chronological stages, as an historical succession of *states* in the European tradition. What has once been there, is always there, once it has achieved artistic form. How and why the spirit of Lucretius belongs permanently to Europe as a whole, he who has read Herford's essay on him will know. And his famous contrast of *Dante and Milton* puts two spiritual and poetic attitudes, less widely separated in time than in nature, in typical opposition in spite of certain resemblances; and that very opposition is of unending importance in the texture of the European tradition. I feel here, however, that in making it out, Herford has been less than

fair to Milton, and, using him rather as a foil for Dante, has worked the notion of his Puritanism a little too hard : for instance, it seems to me misleading to take *Comus* as Puritan at all.

This way of regarding the international tradition of literature—that is, not as an historical progression, but statically and inclusively, as an equilibrium of many forces—this for certain questions may be extended : as it is very notably in another deservedly well-known essay of Herford's, *Is there a poetic view of the world?*—a survey extending from Homer to Wordsworth, done not chronologically, but in a sort of broad geography of certain mental climates which have proved nobly favourable to poetry. Whether Herford really has made out a distinctively poetic world-view, analogous to the religious or the philosophical world-view, I am not sure. I rather doubt whether there is any such thing as a distinctively poetic world-view. Religion and philosophy exist in order to take a world-view : but poetry does not—though it *can* do so. And that some of the most impressive kinds of poetry do, under remarkably different manners, agree in the world-view Herford elucidates, we may certainly allow. In any case, the essay is conspicuous for its luminous perception of the main factors in the poetic tradition of Europe as a whole.

I have by no means exhausted Herford's work in this line. He was deeply interested, as we know, in all the most recent developments of literature ; and whether in the work of individual authors, as in *Gabriele D'Annunzio*, or of nations, as in *The Mind of Post-War Germany* and *The Culture of Bolshevik Russia*, could show how it stands in international tradition—what it has received, how it has used this, and what in turn it may be capable of contributing. And whatever has happened meanwhile, and may eventually happen, to Italy or Germany or Russia, historians of European literature will find something very much to their purpose in these essays.

It must be admitted that our knowledge and understanding of international literature, in the sense which I have tried to explain, have still a long way to go ; but the importance of the study, as the meticulous labors of the "comparatists" accumulate their results, is likely to become more and more evident. Herford, too, working in quite a different manner, has at least

shown the status of these studies in literary criticism. For that is what characterizes his work : it is throughout informed by the spirit and purpose of criticism. Herford could not study literature without keeping his eye on artistic merit : indeed, it might be said, that it was always for the sake of some noble answer to the loftiest demands of human nature that he studied international literature at all. But he knew that he must always come back to the individual work of art. His business was not merely with the phenomena of international literature, as that of the comparatists is, but with their *use* : and that is, by showing us in its largest scope the world in which literature occurs, to help us to the fullest understanding of the nature of the individual work of art, and therefore to the clearest perception of its merit.

But it would not be fitting to conclude without adding, that to the study of international literature, Herford brought a peculiar ardor : since it was but one form of his constant aspiration—to ascend to that internationalism which, far from denying or abrogating nationalism, adds new value to it and enriches its significance. Such is, such must be, the internationalism of literature. For such an internationalism in all things, with deep perception of the calamitous alternative, Herford's whole life was a plea. The world, for the time being at any rate, has decided against him. When we remember what atrocious forms that decision has taken, we may add this : that he is not here to-day is our misfortune, not his.

HAND-LIST OF ADDITIONS TO THE COLLECTION OF ENGLISH MANUSCRIPTS IN THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY, 1928-35.

By MOSES TYSON, M.A., Ph.D.

509. [R. 64947.] WEST DERBY HUNDRED. Lay subsidy roll of 1585.

Paper roll. 3640 × 158 mm. 1585.

* * Former owner : R. Cunliffe Shaw.

510. [R. 65117.] HANKINSON MSS. Family Records of the Hankinsons, sometime of Hale, in the parish of Bowdon and County of Chester. By Geo. H. Hankinson.

(i) pp. 1-209 ; (ii) pp. 1-171 ; (iii) pp. 1-143. (i-ii) 227 × 192 mm. ;
(iii) 230 × 188 mm. c. 1900.

* * In three volumes. MSS. 510-14 were bequeathed by Miss Annie Hankinson, Altrincham.

511. [R. 65118.] HANKINSON MSS. Copies of Inscriptions on the Gravestones and Monuments in the Churchyard and Church of Barlaston, in the County of Stafford : with extracts from books and documents illustrating the same ; and notes thereon. By Geo. H. Hankinson.

Pp. i-iv, 1-166. 221 × 187 mm. 1886-87.

* * "Woodlands Park, near Altrincham, Cheshire." See MS. 510.

512. [R. 65118.] HANKINSON MSS. Additional notes respecting the families named on the Gravestones and Monuments in the Churchyard and Church of Barlaston, in the County of Stafford, with an account of the New Church. By Geo. H. Hankinson.

Pp. 167-288. 223 × 187 mm. 1889-9(0).

* * "Woodlands Park, near Altrincham, Cheshire." See MS. 510.

513. [R. 65120.] HANKINSON MSS. Miscellaneous Papers.

Packet of papers. Various sizes. Late sixteenth to twentieth cent.

* * Miscellaneous documents and transcripts respecting MSS. 510-12 and the Hankinson family and its connections ; also notes on Ringway Church, and on the Rev. Thomas Whitaker, a former curate. See MS. 510.

514. [R. 65119.] HANKINSON MSS. Notes and addenda to J. Paul Rylands' paper, *Extracts from the parish registers, with copies of the principal monumental inscriptions in the church and churchyard of Criccieth, and extracts from the registers of Ynyscynhaiarn, etc.* By Geo. H. Hankinson.

Pp. 1-104. 238 × 148 mm. Late sixteenth cent.

* * Pp. 1-7 are reprinted from Rylands' paper in *The Genealogist*, vii (O.S.), 156. Three photographs. Indexes of names and places. See MS. 510.

515. [R. 66087.] SALFORD HUNDRED. Lay subsidy roll of 1641.

Vell. roll. 4660 × 200 mm. 1641.

* * Seven skins. *Sum totall of this Roule*, £395 : iiis : Od. Signed *Hughe Cooper*. Small seal in red wax. Former owner : F. A. Syson, Bakewell.

516. [R. 66088.] WILLIAM BROCKLEHURST STONEHOUSE, M.A., LL.D., ARCHDEACON OF STOW. *Memoranda*.

Ff. 65 + v. 195 × 162 mm. Late sixteenth cent.

* * Transcribed by Edward Peacock. f. 1, *Extracts from a folio vol. entitled "Memoranda Quaedam Delegationis Gul. B. Stonehouse Artium Magistri."* f. 55, *The Notitia of the Venerable Archdeacon of Stow concerning his pilgrimage at Messingham during the period he was curate to the late Archdeacon Dr. Bayley, etc.* Given by Julian Peacock.

517. [Spencer 25030.] SLAVE TRADE. Miscellaneous papers.

3 folio sheets. Various sizes. 1751-87.

* * Notes on ships, statistics, etc. Originally bound up with a collection of tracts on slavery.

518. [R. 66452.] NEWTON BY DARESBUY. Town Book.

Ff. 83. 378 × 147 mm. 1708-61.

* * Accounts of the constable, the surveyor of highways, and the overseer of the poor. See Arnold W. Boyd, *The Town Books of Sevenoaks and Newton by Daresbury, Cheshire*. Given by Lady Daresbury.

519. [R. 67992.] (Phillipps 4928.) TURKEY. Trade statistics, etc.

Ff. 34 (+ 20 blank). 182 × 117 mm. Late xviiiith cent.

* * Miscellaneous collection, including : (pp. 9-23) *Observations on the Importance of a Lazaretto in England*, by W. Howard ; (pp. 24-7) Accounts of goods exported from London to Turkey in 1786-87, and imported from Turkey in 1787 ; (pp. 27-67) *A Concise Account of the Trade carried on by the European Nations to the Levant. Imports and Exports of the English*, with statistics relating to Smyrna, 1785-88. Bookplate of the Hon^{ble}. Frederic North.

520. [R. 67993.] (Phillipps 4929.) TURKEY. British trade in Turkey, etc.

Ff. 13 (+ 17 blank). 190 × 121 mm. Late xviiiith cent.

* * Includes copies of trading reports dated 10 June, 1765, and 2 Jan., 1766, signed by Anthony Hayes, Consul at Smyrna, and others ; also other papers. Bookplate of the Hon^{ble}. Frederic North.

521. [R. 67994.] THOMAS WALKER. **Book of miscellanies, 1712, etc.**

Ff. 124 + xii. 190 × 150 mm. Early xviiith cent.

* * The MS. of Thomas Walker of Mosley, near Ashton-under-Lyne. A selection of political and amatory pieces, many in verse, by Walker and by Cavalier and other seventeenth-century poets. Also satires, anagrams and *Select verses collected out of the Holy Scripture for the help of meditation and devotion*. Former owners : Charles Bradbury (Sale catalogue, December, 1864, No. 2819) ; Hayward, bookseller ; Sir Thomas Baker.

522. [R. 67991.] PARLIAMENT. **A Journall booke conteyning the true copies and relations of all the Arguments of the Petition of Right and of all the materiall speeches and weighty causes debated by the House of Commons in the Parliament beganne and holden att Westminster 17^o Martii 1627, of wch the most materiall are of Recorde in the Commons House of Parliament.**

Ff. 363 + iv. 272 × 172 mm. Early xviiith cent.

* * The original volume, of 257 ff., has been added to early in the eighteenth century by the insertion of many speeches, debates, etc. Bookplate of the Earl of Aylesford, Packington, Warwickshire.

523. [R. 68275.] EAST INDIA COMPANY. **Papers on the Tea Trade.**

45 items. Various sizes. 1784-1828.

* * From the Melville collection. Contains accounts and statistics ; letters to the Right Hon^{ble}. Henry Dundas from Charles Herries, J. Hunter Blair and others, etc.

524. [R. 68539.] THEOLOGICAL MS.

Ff. 218 + viii. 235 × 172 mm. c. 1600.

* * (F. 1) 1581 ; (f. 4) 1582 ; (f. 52) *The acts and speeches of Mr. G.* 1584 ; (f. 68) *A letter against hardnes of hart*, [from R. C.] ; (f. 75) *The effect of an exhortation in private to two parties at their contracting before the witnesses*, by Maister Hildersam ; (f. 77) *A short treatise wherin (if not al yet) the most necessary points to bee considered about marriage are handled by way of question and answer for the help of the reader* ; this ends on f. 91 with the note, *This discourse was drawn by Mr. Richard Sherwood at the request of the honorable lady Theodosia Dudley, whom it concerned. Followeth a short sum of a speach had by M. T. Car at a contract making between his doughter Marie and Andw Wilmor* ; (f. 96b) *Concerning private reading of the word.* Arthur Hildersam ; (f. 99) *A.H. For preparation to prayer . . .* ; (f. 99) *Directions for the order of your prayer* ; (f. 100) *A preparation to the Lord's Supper.* A.H. ; (f. 103) *A larger preparation to the Lord's Supper in form of a Catechism.* A.H. ; (f. 115) *The Catechism contening the sum of both the covnauntes of the law and of the Gospel.* Former owner : Mrs. P. Hardisty.

525. [R. 68334.] F. C. BURKITT, D.D., F.B.A. Twenty-five years of theological study.

Paper. Ff. 40. 164 × 203 mm. 1929.

Inserted is a letter to Dr. Henry Guppy. The lecture was printed in the *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, xiv (1930).

526. [R. 69756.] C. H. LEYCESTER. Logs of H.M.S. *Tribune* and H.M.S. *Topaze*.

Ff. 75 + ii. 320 × 203 mm. 1862-63.

* * From 17 Apr., 1862, to 26 Sept., 1862, for the *Tribune*, and from 28 Sept., 1862, to 25 June, 1863, for the *Topaze*. Given by J. D. Hughes.

- 527-8. [R. 69756.] C. H. LEYCESTER. Logs of H.M.S. *Sutlej* and H.M.S. *Tribune*.

I. [527.] Ff. 80 + ii. 344 × 208 mm. 1863-64.

II. [528.] Ff. 112 + vi. 310 × 199 mm. 1864-66.

* * From 26 June, 1863, to 3 June, 1864, for the *Sutlej*, and from 4 June, 1864, to 13 May, 1866, for the *Tribune*. Given by J. D. Hughes.

529. [R. 69756.] C. H. LEYCESTER. Log of H.M.S. *Bellerophon*.

Ff. 48 + x. 324 × 198 mm. 1867.

* * From 17 May, 1866, to 30 June, 1867. Given by J. D. Hughes.

- 530-660. [R. 71063.]

* * These were acquired in January, 1931, from Mrs. R. V. Colman, great granddaughter of Sir John Salusbury Piozzi Salusbury. With these manuscripts there is also a large collection of deeds and papers, see Tyson, *Hand-list of charters, deeds and similar documents in the possession of the John Rylands Library II. (I)*. Nos. 914-1262.

530. [R. 71063.] THRALE-PIOZZI MSS. Letters to and from members of the Salusbury and Cotton families, etc.

76 items. Various sizes. 1735-73.

* * In one volume. There are a number of letters from John Salusbury, in Nova Scotia, to his wife; letters from Sir Thomas Salusbury, and others, mentioning his affairs; two letters from Lord Halifax, one of which, dated 18 Oct., 1749, is to Nova Scotia, etc. Several papers give genealogical information about the Salusbury and Cotton families. Many letters and papers are endorsed in the writing of Dr. Samuel Johnson.

- 531-2. [R. 71063.] THRALE-PIOZZI MSS. Letters from Edward Bridge to members of the Salusbury family, etc.

I. [531.] 1-58. Various sizes. 1746-57.

II. [532.] 59-113. Various sizes. 1758-73.

* * In two volumes. Bridge acted as agent for John Salusbury and his wife in Wales and most of the letters are from him to them, and chiefly concern business matters. There are two letters to Sir Thomas Salusbury from Bridge, several others to Bridge from various persons, four letters from Mary Bridge and one from Hester Bridge to Mrs. Thrale, and one from Mary Bridge to Henry Thrale. Many letters are endorsed in the writing of Dr. Samuel Johnson.

533. [R. 71063.] THRALE-PIOZZI MSS. Letters from Hester Lynch Salusbury [Thrale-Piozzi], etc.

45 items. Various sizes. c. 1755-1818.

* * In one volume. Chiefly drafts by Mrs. Thrale of a number of her letters to members of her family, friends and others. The last four items are evidently exercises in Italian by a child.

534. [R. 71063.] THRALE-PIOZZI MSS. Letters from Dr. Arthur Collier to Hester Lynch Salusbury.

107 items. Various sizes. c. 1759-63.

* * In one volume. Collier was Miss Salusbury's tutor and confidant. Many letters are in Latin, some are concerned only with tuition in Latin, others deal with family affairs, especially those of Miss Salusbury's uncle, Sir Thomas Salusbury of Offley Place. Numerous notes are initialled or unsigned; many have been endorsed by Dr. Samuel Johnson, usually "Dr. C. to Miss S."

535. [R. 71063.] THRALE-PIOZZI MSS. Letters from Herbert Lawrence.

9 items. Various sizes. 1762-88.

* * In one volume. Nos. 1 and 3 are addressed to Miss Salusbury; Nos. 6-8 to Mrs. Thrale; the others are not addressed.

536. [R. 71063.] THRALE-PIOZZI MSS. Letters to Hester Lynch Salusbury (Thrale), Henry Thrale, etc.

45 items. Various sizes. c. 1762-1813.

* * In one volume. There are included letters from Henry Bright (3), Sir Philip Jennings Clerke (2), Dr. E. Crane (3), Thomas Davies, Richard Garth (2), John Hinchliffe, Bishop of Peterborough, James Merrick (4), Sir William Weller Pepys, Sir Lucas Pepys (6), Francesco Sastres, William Seward (6), Sophia Streatfield, Dr. N. Wetherell, and others.

537. [R. 71063.] THRALE-PIOZZI MSS. Letters to Dr. Samuel Johnson, etc.

8 items. Various sizes. 1769-1778.

* * In one volume. To Dr. Johnson there are two letters from Charlotte Lennox and one each from Henry Bright, John Burton, Thomas Davies and S. J. C. Pratt. In the same volume are an account for coals bought of Henry

Thrale by Mr. Johnson, dated 15 Jan., 1771, and an unaddressed letter from William Strahan. For the above letters see J. D. Wright, *Some unpublished letters to and from Dr. Johnson*, M.U.P., 1932.

538. [R. 71063.] THRALE-PIOZZI MSS. Letters from Hester Lynch Thrale to Dr. Samuel Johnson.

47 items. Various sizes. 1770-84.

* * In one volume. Evidently MSS. sent to the printer of part of H. L. Piozzi's *Letters to and from the late Samuel Johnson, LL.D.*, 1788. They include all but one of Mrs. Thrale's own letters. Several are evidently originals, while the others, all in Mrs. Thrale's hand, are either copies or in some cases probably compositions. There are two drafts of the preface of Mrs. Piozzi's work; MSS. of the prose and verse materials at the end of her second volume; and four pages of an early proof.

539-40. [R. 71063.] THRALE-PIOZZI MSS. Letters from Hester Lynch Thrale to Dr. Samuel Johnson.

I. [539.] 1-55. Various sizes. 1771-76.

II. [540.] 56-110. Various sizes. 1776-84.

* * In two volumes. Original letters to Dr. Johnson not published by Mrs. Piozzi. All are from Mrs. Thrale, with the following exceptions: part of No. 3 is a note from Henry Thrale; No. 4 is from Henry Thrale; Nos. 8 and 68 are from Hester Maria Thrale ("Queeney"); and No. 11 is from Mrs. Salusbury (Mrs. Thrale's mother). Several letters have been dated in Dr. Johnson's hand. A number have been franked by Thrale.

541. [R. 71063.] THRALE-PIOZZI MSS. Letters from Giuseppe Baretti to Hester Lynch Thrale.

8 items. Various sizes. 1773-76.

* * In one volume. In several instances notes to "Queeney" Thrale, in Italian, have been added.

542. [R. 71063.] THRALE-PIOZZI MSS. Letters from James Boswell, etc.

3 items. Various sizes. 1773-81.

In one volume. One letter from Boswell is to Henry Thrale (29 July, 1773), and another to Mrs. Thrale (26 April, 1781). The third letter, of 11 pages, is to Boswell from J. Collet, Newbury, Berks. For another letter from Boswell (12 Oct., 1792) see Eng. MS. 343 (43).

543. [R. 71063.] THRALE-PIOZZI MSS. Letters from Dr. Samuel Johnson to Hester Lynch Thrale, etc.

27 items. Various sizes. c. 1773-83.

* * In one volume. The contents are: Nos. 1-19, letters from Johnson to Mrs. Thrale; No. 20, MS. of Johnson's Latin epitaph on Mrs. Salusbury; No. 21, copy of the epitaph by Mrs. Thrale; No. 22, note from Johnson,

in Latin ; No. 23, two lines in Latin by Johnson ; No. 24, notes by Johnson concerned with the settlement of Thrale's property ; No. 25, copy by Mrs. Thrale of a note made by Johnson at Town Malling on 18 Sept., 1768 ; No. 26, copy by Mrs. Thrale of Johnson's lines, " Oft in danger yet alive, We are come to thirty-five, etc." ; No. 27, copies of verses, namely of Johnson's Latin poem " In theatro ", Mrs. Thrale's imitation of the same in English, the Latin " inscription on the collar of Mr. Bank's goat," and the Latin ode " Permeo terras, etc." For the above letters, see J. D. Wright's *Some unpublished letters to and from Dr. Johnson*, M.U.P., 1932.

544. [R. 71063.] THRALE-PIOZZI MSS. Letters from Dr. Michael Lort to Hester Lynch Thrale (Piozzi).

13 items. Various sizes. 1774-89.

* * In one volume.

545. [R. 71063.] THRALE-PIOZZI MSS. Letters from Dr. Charles Burney, Fanny Burney (Madame D'Arblay), etc.

27 items. Various sizes. 1777-1807.

* * In one volume. The letters are to Mrs. Thrale (Piozzi). Nos. 1-13 are letters from Dr. Charles Burney ; Nos. 14-16 are poems by the same, No. 16 evidently copied by Mrs. Thrale ; Nos. 17-26 are from Fanny Burney ; No. 27 is from Charles Burney the younger. See W. Wright Roberts, *Charles and Fanny Burney in the light of the new Thrale correspondence in the John Rylands Library*, M.U.P., 1932.

546. [R. 71063.] THRALE-PIOZZI MSS. Letters from Hester Lynch Piozzi to the Hon^{ble}. Mrs. Byron.

31 items. Various sizes. 1779-89.

* * In one volume. There are 24 letters from Mrs. Piozzi to Sophia, wife of Admiral John Byron, between 1787 and 1789 ; 6 from the Hon. Mrs. Byron to Mrs. Thrale (Piozzi) from 1779 onwards ; and a copy by Mrs. Piozzi of an epitaph on the Hon. Mrs. Byron.

547. [R. 71063.] THRALE-PIOZZI MSS. Letters from John Delap to Hester Lynch Thrale (Piozzi).

15 items. Various sizes. 1779-97.

* * In one volume. No. 11 is a note from G. Colman to Delap, the dramatist ; No. 14 is a MS. of verse " To the memory of the Hon. Henry Pelham, and of his sister the right Hon. Lady Sheffield."

548. [R. 71063.] THRALE-PIOZZI MSS. Letters from Arthur Murphy to Hester Lynch Thrale (Piozzi).

53 items. Various sizes. c. 1777-1801.

* * In one volume. The later letters are partly concerned with legal matters bearing on Thrale family affairs. With No. 30 (21 Mar. 1797) is a draft of a letter to be copied out and signed by the Piozzis ; No. 42, enclosed with

No. 41, is a bill for wines sent to Mr. Mostyn ; No. 45 (30 July, 1797) is a copy by Mrs. Piozzi of " Mr. Murphy's long letter about Cecilia Mostyn " ; No. 51 is another copy by Mrs. Piozzi ; and No. 52 is a draft of a note to Vandercom.

549. [R. 71063.] THRALE-PIOZZI MSS. Letters from Italian and French correspondents to Hester Lynch Thrale (Piozzi), Gabriele Piozzi, etc.

40 items. Various sizes. 177(?)-1815.

* * In one volume. Includes letters from various members of the Italian nobility, and several from members of the Piozzi family.

550. [R. 71063.] THRALE-PIOZZI MSS. Letters from Hester Lynch Thrale to Mrs. Lambart.

21 items. Various sizes. c. 1780-88.

* * In one volume. Mrs. Lambart (*née* Jennings) was a sister of Sir Philip Jennings Clerke.

551. [R. 71063.] THRALE-PIOZZI MSS. Letters from Elizabeth Montagu to Hester Lynch Thrale (Piozzi).

35 items. Various sizes. c. 1780-86.

* * In one volume. A number of letters are initialled only, two have neither signature nor initials.

552. [R. 71063.] THRALE-PIOZZI MSS. Letters from Samuel Lysons to Hester Lynch Piozzi.

24 items. Various sizes. 1784-1814.

* * In one volume.

553. [R. 71063.] THRALE-PIOZZI MSS. Letters from Hester Maria Thrale and her sisters to Gabriele and Hester Lynch Piozzi.

36 items. Various sizes. 1784-c. 1815.

* * In one volume. No. 1 is addressed to Mrs. Thrale. Nos. 1-10 are signed by H. M. Thrale ; Nos. 11-19 are formal notes, unsigned, from Miss Thrale, five from the Misses Thrale ; No. 20 is signed by H. M. Keith ; Nos. 21-25 are signed by S. A. Thrale ; Nos. 26-34 by Sophia Thrale.

- 554-7. [R. 71063.] THRALE-PIOZZI MSS. Letters to Hester Lynch Piozzi from many of her friends.

I. [554.] 1-58. Ba.—Do. Various sizes. 1785-1821.

II. [555.] 59-116. Du.—Ke. Various sizes. 1785-1821.

III. [556.] 117-74. Kn.—Shel. Various sizes. 1785-1821.

IV. [557.] 175-234. Shep.—Wo. Various sizes. 1785-1821.

* * In four volumes, alphabetically arranged. Manuscript verses by several of the writers are also included.

- 558. [R. 71063.] THRALE-PIOZZI MSS. Letters to Hester Lynch Piozzi from Robert Merry, Bertie Greatheed and others.**

17 items. Various sizes. 1786-1809.

* * In one volume. Nos. 1-11 are letters from Robert ("Della Crusca") Merry; No. 12 is a manuscript of Merry's poem, "To Mrs. Piozzi on her contribution to the Florence Miscellany"; Nos. 13-14 are from Bertie Greatheed; Nos. 15-16 from Ann Greatheed; and No. 17 from William Parsons.

- 559-61. [R. 71063.] THRALE-PIOZZI MSS. Letters from Hester Lynch Piozzi to the Rev. Leonard Chappelow.**

I. [559.] 1-57. Various sizes. 1786-97.

II. [560.] 58-113. Various sizes. 1797-1801.

III. [561.] 114-66. Various sizes. 1801-18, etc.

* * In three volumes. No. 1 is a letter from George Jenyns to Mrs. Piozzi saying that he has found her letters to Chappelow and intends to return them (19 Sept., 1820). Nos. 155-66 are letters from Chappelow either undated or omitting the year. Chappelow was, for a time, librarian of Trinity College, Cambridge.

- 562-3. [R. 71063.] THRALE-PIOZZI MSS. Letters from the Rev. Leonard Chappelow to Hester Lynch Piozzi.**

I. [562.] 1-65. Various sizes. 1786-1800.

II. [563.] 66-128. Various sizes. 1800-18.

* * In two volumes. Nos. 111-26 are undated or omit the year; No. 127 is a poem in Latin; No. 128 consists of various pieces of verse copied "from the album at the Grand Chartreux," etc.

- 564. [R. 71063.] THRALE-PIOZZI MSS. Letters from the Rev. Thomas Sedgwick Whalley to Hester Lynch Piozzi.**

40 items. Various sizes. 1787-1816.

* * In one volume. Nos. 38 and 39 are from F. Whalley; No. 40 is the MS. of a poem by Dr. Whalley.

- 565. [R. 71063.] THRALE-PIOZZI MSS. Letters from Anna Seward to Hester Lynch Piozzi.**

11 items. Various sizes. 1787-90.

* * In one volume.

- 566-8. [R. 71063.] THRALE-PIOZZI MSS. Letters from P. S. Pennington to Hester Lynch Piozzi.**

I. [566.] 1-50. Various sizes. 1788-94.

II. [567.] 51-96. Various sizes. 1794-1801.

III. [568.] 97-158. Various sizes. 1801-21.

* * In three volumes, Nos. 1-28 were sent before Mrs. Pennington's marriage and are signed "P. S. W." or "P. S. Weston"; No. 151 is a fragment only; No. 152 is a draft of a letter from Mrs. Piozzi to Mrs. Pennington; Nos. 153-6 are from Mrs. Pennington to Sir John S. P. Salusbury; No. 157 is a draft of a letter from Sir John S. P. Salusbury to Mrs. Pennington; and No. 158 is to Mrs. Pennington from "D. H. Dickson."

569. [R. 71063.] THRALE-PIOZZI MSS. Smythe-Owen letters and papers.

62 items. Various sizes. 1788-1854.

* * In one volume. Correspondence between Nicholas Smythe Owen (afterwards Nicholas Owen Smythe Owen), Nicholas Smythe, his father, the Rev. John Smythe, his uncle, W. Busby, his tutor, and others. Smythe Owen died in 1804. Later letters concern Edward William Smythe Owen of Conover; and there are papers giving genealogical information about the Owen family, etc.

570. [R. 71063.] THRALE-PIOZZI MSS. Letters from Hester Lynch Piozzi to Helen Maria Williams.

11 items. Various sizes. 1791-96.

* * In one volume. No. 1 is in verse.

571. [R. 71063.] THRALE-PIOZZI MSS. Letters from the Rev. Robert Gray to Hester Lynch Piozzi.

72 items. Various sizes. 1791-1820.

* * In one volume. Gray afterwards became Bishop of Bristol.

572. [R. 71063.] THRALE-PIOZZI MSS. Cecilia Thrale (Mostyn) correspondence.

35 items. Various sizes. 1792-1827.

* * In one volume. Letters to Mrs. Piozzi and copies of letters sent by her dealing with Cecilia's affairs. Nos. 8-9, 18-19, 21, 28-31 are from Cecilia to her mother; No. 22 is to Mr. Piozzi; and there are letters from J. M. Mostyn, Robert Ray, Henry Drummond, James Drummond, J. Crutchley, and others.

573. [R. 71063.] THRALE-PIOZZI MSS. Letters from the Rev. Reynold Davies to Hester Lynch Piozzi.

42 items. Various sizes. 1792-1814.

* * In one volume. Davies had charge of the early education of the young John Salusbury Piozzi (Salusbury), and notes from the latter are with Nos. 25-6, 36 and 39. No. 39 is to Gabriele Piozzi.

574. [R. 71063.] THRALE-PIOZZI MSS. Letters from Sarah and William Siddons to Hester Lynch Piozzi.

28 items. Various sizes. 1793-1807.

* * In one volume. Nos. 1, 3-7, 9-16 are from Sarah Siddons ; No. 2 from her daughter Sarah ; Nos. 17-28 from William Siddons ; No. 8 is from M. Wilkinson, with a message on behalf of Mrs. Siddons.

575. [R. 71063.] THRALE-PIOZZI MSS. Letters from Thomas Pennant to Hester Lynch Piozzi, etc.

25 items. Various sizes. 1793-98.

* * In one volume. Nos. 1 (?), 3, 4 (?), 7-8 are to Thomas Lloyd, mercer, Denbigh ; Nos. 2, 9-20, 22-4 are to Mrs. Piozzi ; Nos. 5, 6 and 21 are notes to Mr. and Mrs. Piozzi ; No. 25 is a 4 page MS. about Vasco da Gama and Alphonso Albuquerque endorsed : "A manuscript of the famous Mr. Pennant the naturalist."

576. [R. 71063.] THRALE-PIOZZI MSS. Letters from Daniel Lysons to Hester Lynch Piozzi.

12 items. Various sizes. 1794-1821.

* * In one volume.

577-9. [R. 71063.] THRALE-PIOZZI MSS. Letters from John Gillon to Hester Lynch Piozzi and Gabriele Piozzi.

I. [577.] 1-55. Various sizes. 1798-1800.

II. [578.] 56-112. Various sizes. 1800-03.

III. [579.] 113-54. Various sizes. 1803-08.

1-19. Various sizes. 1799-1806.

* * In three volumes. Gillon was a West Indies merchant. Nos. 1-154 are to Mrs. Piozzi, notes to Gabriele Piozzi being added to Nos. 122-3. No. 21 consists only of notes on John Cator ; No. 154 is a fragment. Of the second series (see MS. 579) Nos. 1-18 are to Gabriele Piozzi, and No. 19 is from A. Robarts to Piozzi and gives an account of Gillon's will.

580. [R. 71063.] THRALE-PIOZZI MSS. Letters to Hester Lynch Piozzi from the Countess of Orkney, Lady Kirkwall and others.

54 items. Various sizes. 1798-1824.

* * In one volume. Nos. 1-3, 5-9 are from Mary O'Bryen, Countess of Orkney ; Nos. 10-14 from John, Viscount Kirkwall ; Nos. 20-30, 32-41 from Anna Maria, Viscountess Kirkwall ; Nos. 15-19, 31 from Sir John de Blaquiere, after 1st Lord De Blaquiere ; Nos. 42-6 from Elinor, Lady de Blaquiere, Nos. 47-51 from Elizabeth Blaquiere ; Nos. 52-4 from Elinor Blaquiere ; and No. 4 from W. M. Bradford.

581. [R. 71063.] THRALE-PIOZZI MSS. Letters from the Ladies of Llangollen to Hester Lynch Piozzi.

22 items. Various sizes. 1796-180(?).

****** In one volume. These letters from Lady Eleanor Butler and Miss Sarah Ponsonby are usually signed "E. B. and S. P." or "S. P. and Eleanor Butler"; No. 8 is from Eleanor Butler, and No. 22 is incomplete; No. 17 is apparently a note to the Rev. Leonard Chappelow.

582-4. [R. 71063.] THRALE-PIOZZI MSS. Letters from Marianne Francis to Hester Lynch Piozzi, etc.

I. [582.] 1-64. Various sizes. c. 1806-10.

II. [583.] 65-125. Various sizes. 1810-14.

III. [584.] 126-85. Various sizes. 1814-20.

****** In three volumes. Marianne, Charlotte, and Clement Francis were the children of Clement Francis, surgeon, of Aylsham, Norfolk, and of Charlotte, fourth daughter of Charles Burney, and sister of Fanny Burney. With both Nos. 1 and 163 are notes from Charlotte Broome, Marianne's mother, and Charlotte, her sister, and with No. 126 a note from Charlotte. Several letters are franked by Wilberforce. Nos. 164-85 are from Clement Francis; No. 162 is to Marianne from (Miss) S. Wesley.

585-90. [R. 71063.] THRALE-PIOZZI MSS. Letters from Hester Lynch Piozzi to John Salusbury Piozzi Salusbury.

I. [585.] 1-80. Various sizes. 1807-10.

II. [586.] 81-159. Various sizes. 1810-13.

III. [587.] 160-238. Various sizes. 1813-14.

IV. [588.] 239-316. Various sizes. 1814-16.

V. [589.] 317-95. Various sizes. 1816-18.

VI. [590.] 396-473. Various sizes. 1818-21.

****** In six volumes. No. 1 is from Robert Ray about John Salusbury Piozzi, and is dated Nov. 22, 1798; No. 48 contains translations of letters to the young Piozzi from his mother, Maria Theresa Fracasso Piozzi, and his brother, Gabriele Piozzi; also a suggested reply in English and Italian; No. 90 has a note to R. Pemberton; No. 100 a note from Lady Kirkwall; No. 250 a note from Mrs. Salusbury; and No. 473 is endorsed: "The last letter from poor dear Mrs. Piozzi."

591. [[R. 71063.] THRALE-PIOZZI MSS. Letters from John Salusbury Piozzi Salusbury to Hester Lynch Piozzi.

27 items. Various sizes. 1808-21.

****** In one volume. No. 14 is from Lady Salusbury.

592-3. [R. 71063.] THRALE-PIOZZI MSS. Letters from Hester Lynch Piozzi to Harriet M. Pemberton (Salusbury).

I. [592.] 1-65. Various sizes. 1813-17.

II. [593.] 66-130. Various sizes. 1817-21.

****** In two volumes. Nos. 17, 82 and 109 have notes from John Salusbury Piozzi Salusbury; No. 21 has a note to Mrs. Pemberton, Lady Salusbury's mother; No. 130 is incomplete.

- 594. [R. 71063.] THRALE-PIOZZI MSS. Letters from Hester Lynch Piozzi to Mrs. Pemberton.**

22 items. Various sizes. 1814-18.

* * In one volume. Mrs. Pemberton was the mother of Harriet M. Pemberton (Salusbury); No. 22 is to Miss Letitia Caroline Pemberton.

- 595. [R. 71063.] THRALE-PIOZZI MSS. Letters from the Rev. Edward Mangin to Hester Lynch Piozzi.**

22 items. Various sizes. 1815-19.

* * In one volume. No. 21 is a poem headed "La Belle Assemblée; or, Bell's Court and fashionable Magazine, for July, 1807. Time and Cupid." "Written out and given me by the Rev. Edward Mangin, March 1815." No. 22 is an acrostic on Mary Mangin by her husband, copied by another hand.

- 596. [R. 71063.] THRALE-PIOZZI MSS. Letters from William Augustus Conway to Hester Lynch Piozzi, etc.**

12 items. Various sizes. 1819-21.

* * In one volume. Nos. 1-8 are letters or notes to Mrs. Piozzi; Nos. 9 and 10 are to Sir John Salusbury Piozzi Salusbury; No. 11 is part of a copy of a letter from Mrs. Piozzi to Conway; No. 12 is the draft of a note from Mrs. Piozzi to Mr. Bunn.

- 597. [R. 71063.] THRALE-PIOZZI MSS. Letters and papers of Sir John Piozzi Salusbury.**

87 items. Various sizes. 1817-52.

* * In one volume. This includes letters to Sir John Salusbury and various drafts of letters by him. There are several personal letters, but many are of a business nature.

- 598. [R. 71063.] THRALE-PIOZZI MSS. Salusbury, Thrale and Piozzi accounts and papers.**

107 items. Various sizes. 1736-1820.

* * In one volume. This contains many bills and receipts, workmen's accounts, grocer's bills, etc., including a detailed account of the funeral expenses of Henry Thrale.

- 599. [R. 71063.] THRALE-PIOZZI MSS. Business Letters to members of the Salusbury family.**

38 items. Various sizes. 1737-69.

* * In one volume. Letters from Richard Thurstan, Richard Lloyd of Tynwydd and others. Several letters have been endorsed by Dr. Samuel Johnson.

600. [R. 71063.] THRALE-PIOZZI MSS. Business letters to Henry and Hester Lynch Thrale.

35 items. Various sizes. 1771-91.

* * In one volume. Letters from Edward Edwards of Denbigh, John Perkins, Charles Scrase and others, with several draft replies by Mrs. Thrale.

601. [R. 71063.] THRALE-PIOZZI MSS. Business letters to Gabriele and Hester Lynch Piozzi.

93 items. Various sizes. 1784-1821.

* * In one volume. Letters from Angus Greenland, John Maddison, John Wetherhead, Messrs. Robson and Norris, Thomas Russell, William Shackfield, William Wilshire, Thomas Windle and others.

602. [R. 71063.] THRALE-PIOZZI MSS. Letters from John Cator to Gabriele and Hester Lynch Piozzi.

23 items. Various sizes. 1785-1805.

* * In one volume. No. 18 is the draft of a reply by Mrs. Piozzi ; No. 23 is from Joseph Cator.

603-4. [R. 71063.] THRALE-PIOZZI MSS. Letters from Thomas Lloyd to Gabriele and Hester Lynch Piozzi.

I. [603.] 1-48. Various sizes. 1789-93.

II. [604.] 49-98. Various sizes. 1793-95.

* * In two volumes. Mainly concerned with business matters.

605. [R. 71063.] THRALE-PIOZZI MSS. Letters from J. Ward to Gabriele and Hester Lynch Piozzi.

57 items. Various sizes. 1790-97.

* * In one volume. Business letters. No. 57 is to Sir John S. P. Salusbury, dated 6 Feb., 1822 ; Nos. 55-6 are drafts of letters from Sir John, dated 12 Dec., 1821, and 12 Jan., 1822.

606. [R. 71063.] THRALE-PIOZZI MSS. Letters from J. F. Vandercom to Gabriele and Hester Lynch Piozzi.

62 items. Various sizes. 1792-1805.

* * In one volume. Many business letters. No. 62 is a note from Norris to Vandercom.

607. [R. 71063.] THRALE-PIOZZI MSS. Letters from Clement Mead to Gabriele and Hester Lynch Piozzi.

45 items. Various sizes. 1792-96.

* * In one volume. Business letters. No. 17 is from Eliza Mead.

608. [R. 71063.] THRALE-PIOZZI MSS. Letters from J. Oldfield to Gabriele and Hester Lynch Piozzi.

53 items. Various sizes. 1800-25.

* * In one volume. Business letters and papers. No. 24 is from Edward Oldfield ; Nos. 50 and 53 are to Sir John S. P. Salusbury ; No. 51 is a draft of a letter from Sir John.

609. [R. 71063.] THRALE-PIOZZI MSS. Letters from Alexander Leak to Hester Lynch Piozzi, etc.

36 items. Various sizes. 1811-16.

* * In one volume. Business letters and papers. A number of letters from T. Windle, James Matthews, Hugh Hammersley and others concern the affairs of Leak and his widow.

610. [R. 71063.] THRALE-PIOZZI MSS. Inventories of household goods.

Paper. Pp. 1-40 (12, 18, 19, 24-35 blank). 1784-88.

* * Notebook, in Mrs. Piozzi's hand. It contains (1) *Inventory of the China belonging to Mr. Piozzi taken at the Casa Fedele, 15 Nov., 1784 by H. L. P.* ; (2) a similar inventory of plate, 17 Nov., 1784 ; (3) *Inventory of the other Plate Chest brought from England to Mr. Piozzi, Casa Fedele, Milan, 16 March, 1785* ; (4) *Inventory of Linnen taken at the Casa Fedele, Milan 15 March, 1785* ; (5) *Inventory taken 13 Aug., 1786* ; (6) *Things left in Casa Fedele, Sept. 20, 1786* ; and (7) other inventories for the house in Hanover Square for 9 April, 1787, and 11 May, 1788, etc.

611. [R. 71063.] THRALE-PIOZZI MSS. Memorial of H. L. Piozzi against John Cator, Esq.

Pp. 1-8 (+ many blanks). Late xviiiith cent.

* * Note-book, in Mrs. Piozzi's hand.

612. [R. 71063.] THRALE-PIOZZI MSS. Catalogue of the books at Brynbella.

Pp. 1-10. 388 × 257 mm. 1806-13.

* * Large note-book, in Mrs. Piozzi's hand, containing *Catalogue of Books at Brynbella, 18th Oct., 1806*, and also additions up to 1813.

613. [R. 71063.] THRALE-PIOZZI MSS. Sale Catalogue.

* * A printed catalogue : *Collectanea Johnsoniana. Catalogue of the library, pictures, prints, coins, plate, china, and other valuable curiosities, the property of Mrs. Hester Lynch Piozzi, deceased, to be sold by auction, at the Emporium Rooms, Exchange Street, Manchester, by Mr. Broster [17-25 Sept., 1823].* Interleaved with MS. lists of buyers and prices.

614. [R. 71063.] THRALE-PIOZZI MSS. Sale Catalogues.

* * The following printed sale catalogues : (1) *Brynbella. A catalogue of the valuable paintings, prints . . . and other effects, the property of Sir John Salusbury which will be sold by auction, by Messrs. T. Winstanley and Sons, of Liverpool*, 13-15 April, 1836, with MS. list of prices ; (2) another copy, with prices ; (3) another copy, with some prices ; (4) *Priory Street, Birkenhead. Catalogue of the valuable household furniture . . . to be sold by auction by Mr. William Green* ; 12 May, 1858, with MS. list of prices ; and (5) *Catalogue of the excellent Mansion House, superb household furniture, etc., etc., the property of Sir John Salusbury, which will be sold by auction, by Joseph Cliffe, on the premises, in St. John Street, in the city of Chester*, 11-14, 17-18 October, 1831.

615. [R. 71063.] THRALE-PIOZZI MSS. John Salusbury's Nova Scotian journal.

Paper. 160 × 103 mm.

- (i) Ff. 22. 12 July-3 Oct., 1749.
- (ii) Ff. 22. 4 Oct., 1749-15 March, 1750.
- (iii) Ff. 5 (+ 18 blank). 17 March-5 April, 1750.
- (iv) Ff. 20 (+ 2 blank). 5 April-13 May, 1751.
- (v) Ff. 19. 13 May, 1750-19 April, 1751.
- (vi) Ff. 18 (+ 4 blank). 26 April-26 August, 1751.
- (vii) Ff. 21. 20 May, 1752-24 March, 1753.
- (viii) Ff. 10 (+ 14 blank). Miscellaneous.

* * 8 notebooks, in the hand of John Salusbury. No. 1 book is marked 2, and the first part of the journal is missing. With No. 7 are also five loose sheets, evidently torn from another notebook and concerning April, 1753. Notes on the covers and various markings are in the hand of Dr. Samuel Johnson.

616. [R. 71063.] THRALE-PIOZZI MSS. Daily journals, etc.

* * Two boxes containing the following journals with many MS. entries, chiefly by Mrs. Thrale (Piozzi) : (1) *The daily journal : or the Gentleman's and Tradesman's complete annual accompt-book*, 1757 (with a letter from A. M. Salusbury and several exercises in Italian in the pocket) ; (2) the same, 1761 (many entries in Spanish) ; (3) *The ladies' own memorandum-book* ; 1773 ; (4) Small MS. notebook, 1773 ; (5) *The ladies most elegant and convenient pocket-book*, 1788 ; (6) *Harris's British Ladies complete pocket-memorandum book*, 1790 ; (7) *Kearsley's Gentleman and Tradesman's pocket ledger*, 1800 ; (8) *The ladies' own memorandum-book*, 1802 ; (9-13) *The daily journal : or, Gentleman's, Merchant's, and Tradesman's complete annual accompt-book*, 1810, 1817-19, 1821 ; (14) *Peacock's polite repository ; or pocket companion*, 1817 ; (15-22) *Goldsmith. An almanack*, 1812-19 ; (23) *The historical almanack*, 1820.

617. [R. 71063.] THRALE-PIOZZI MSS. Hester Lynch Thrale's French journal, 1775.

Ff. 74 (+ 19 blank). 199 × 156 mm. 15 Sept.-11 Nov., 1775.

* * Notebook in Mrs. Thrale's hand. See *The French journals of Mrs. Thrale and Dr. Johnson* (ed. M. Tyson and H. Guppy), M.U.P., 1932.

618. [R. 71063.] THRALE-PIOZZI MSS. Hester Lynch Piozzi's Italian and German journals, 1784-87.

(i). Ff. 116. 228 × 178 mm. 5 Sept., 1784-26 (?) Sept., 1786.

(ii). Ff. 52 (+ 51 blank). 225 × 178 mm. 22 Sept., 1786-(?) March, 1787.

* * Two notebooks in Mrs. Thrale's hand, written up from time to time.

619. [R. 71063.] THRALE-PIOZZI MSS. Observations and reflections collected from the diary of Hester Lynch Piozzi during her journey through France, Italy and Germany in the years 1784-85-86 and 87.

Pp. 83, 83, 85, 83, 84, 87, 16 (+ 64 blank), respectively. 307 × 200 mm. c. 1788.

* * 7 notebooks. Mrs. Piozzi has here written up her journals for publication; see MSS. 618, 620.

- 620-2. [R. 71063.] THRALE-PIOZZI MSS. Observations and reflections made in the course of a journey through France, Italy, and Germany.

I. [620.] Pp. i-ii, 1-250. 270 × 212 mm. c. 1788.

II. [621.] Pp. 1-241.

III. [622.] Pp. 1-268.

* * In three volumes. This is the MS. of the above work which was sent to the printer by Mrs. Piozzi (2 vols., London, 1789).

623. [R. 71063.] THRALE-PIOZZI MSS. Hester Lynch Piozzi's journey through the North of England and part of Scotland, Wales, etc.

Ff. 20 (+ 48 blank). 319 × 193 mm. 1789.

* * Notebook, in Mrs. Piozzi's hand.

624. [R. 71063.] THRALE-PIOZZI MSS. Louis Racine's *Épître I sur l'homme* (translated), etc.

Ff. 49. Various sizes. c. 1755-60.

* * Loose sheets, now bound up. On f. 1 is the note: "Essay on Man. A translation from Racine by H. L. S. at a very early Period, perhaps 13 years old." There are rough drafts of some passages, translations of five letters, two from Sir James Ramsay to Racine, Racine's reply to Ramsay, a letter from Alexander Pope to Racine and the reply; and, in another hand, some remarks on the above essay.

625. [R. 71063.] THRALE-PIOZZI MSS. Translations, etc.

Ff. 34. Various sizes. c. 1755-60.

* * Loose sheets (now bound up) containing (i) *La Vita ed i Fatti del incomparabile Don Quisotto della Mancha, Tradotto dello Spagnuolo di Miguel Servante SAVEDRA per Hester Lynch SALUSBURY*, 1^{mo} volume" (fragments); (l) fragment of the same, in English.

626. [R. 71063.] THRALE-PIOZZI MSS. The life of Michael Cervantes Savedra, by Don Gregorio Mayansiscar (translated).

Pp. 1-69. 303 × 184 mm., etc. c. 1756.

* * Loose sheets, now bound up.

627. [R. 71063.] THRALE-PIOZZI MSS. The life of Michael Cervantes Savedra, by Don Gregorio Mayansiscar (translated).

Ff. 60 (+ 32 blanks). 196 × 156 mm. c. 1756.

* * A notebook, with a note by Mrs. Thrale: "This was translated by H. L. Salusbury from the Spanish in the year 1756 I believe, or rather 1755—it was copied over by Thos. Cotton, her first cousin, a Boy at School."

628. [R. 71063.] THRALE-PIOZZI MSS. Dissertation on the God Endovellicus.

Ff. 21 (+ 44 blank). 192 × 162 mm. c. 1756.

* * Notebook. On f. 1 is the note: "This was a strange thing for a Child to do. It was written in the year 1755 or 1756—at latest, by H. L. Salusbury."

629. [R. 71063.] THRALE-PIOZZI MSS. Miscellaneous prose fragments, etc.

69 items. Various sizes. 1760-1820.

* * In one volume. The contents include fragments from various notebooks of Mrs. Thrale, epitaphs, translations, *A Discourse on Anatomy*, part of an *Address to the Females of Great Britain*, writings in Italian, a catalogue of books and autograph letters in Sir John Salusbury's possession (c. 1850), and numerous notes, lists, cards, etc.

630. [R. 71063.] THRALE-PIOZZI MSS. Latin exercises, etc.

27 items. Various sizes. c. 1760.

* * In one volume. Mainly Latin exercises and notes from Dr. A. Collier to Hester Lynch Salusbury. No. 25 concerns Greek grammar.

631. [R. 71063.] THRALE-PIOZZI MSS. Notes on Hebrew grammar.

7 items. Various sizes. Late xviiith cent.

* * In one volume, in Mrs. Piozzi's hand.

632. [R. 71063.] THRALE-PIOZZI MSS. Three dialogues on the death of Hester Lynch Thrale.

Paper. Ff. 15 (+ 2 blank). 226 × 186 mm. 1779.

* * Notebook, in the hand of Mrs. Thrale, "written in August 1779." See *Three Dialogues of Hester Lynch Thrale* (ed. M. Zamick), M.U.P., 1932.

633. [R. 71063.] THRALE-PIOZZI MSS. A scene in Streatham Park Library.

* * A pen and ink drawing by C. M. T. (Cecilia M. Thrale). 1 m. 112 mm. × 300 mm.

634. [R. 71063.] THRALE-PIOZZI MSS. Chapters on theological subjects.

Ff. 24. 291 × 209 mm. 1786.

* * A notebook in Mrs. Piozzi's hand. It consists of (f. 1) a letter to Susannah Thrale, dated 13 August, 1786, with ten chapters, "composed somewhat upon the Plan of Abbé Fleury's Historical Catechism, but shorter," headed (i) *Of the Holy Scripture*, (ii) *Of the Lord's Prayer*, (iii) *Of the Creeds*, (iv) *Of the Decalogue*, (v) *Of the Sacraments*, (vi) *Of the three Xtian Virtues*, (vii) *Of the four cardinal virtues*, (viii) *Of the Mysteries*, (ix) *Of Ceremonies*, (x) *Conclusion*. Also there is (f. 23v) a *Description of the Lutheran Communion on Advent Sunday as I saw it in the Church of Dresden, dit Nôtre Dame*.

635. [R. 71063.] THRALE-PIOZZI MSS. Una and Duessa, or A Set of Dialogues upon the most popular Subjects.

Ff. 76 (+ 6 blank). 270 × 205 mm. 1791.

* * In Mrs. Piozzi's hand, with the note: "begun in April and ended in July 1791."

636. [R. 71063.]—THRALE-PIOZZI MSS. British Synonymy.

Ff. 23. 316 × 193 mm. c. 1793.

* * Early draft of part of Mrs. Piozzi's *British Synonymy*, see MSS. 637-38.

- 637-8. [R. 71063.] THRALE-PIOZZI MSS. British Synonymy.

I. [637.] Ff. 126. 265 × 215 mm., etc. c. 1794.

II. [638.] Ff. 125. 268 × 220 mm., etc. c. 1794.

* * In two volumes, containing the final draft of Mrs. Piozzi's *British Synonymy* (2 vols., London, 1794). A few pages are missing.

639. [R. 71063.] THRALE-PIOZZI MSS. A summary of the History of England from the Conquest to the Revolution.

Ff. 17 (+ 17 blank). 200 × 158 mm. Late xviiith cent.

* * A notebook, in Mrs. Piozzi's hand.

640. [R. 71063.] THRALE-PIOZZI MSS. Miniature picture of Europe by Dumouriez in 1797.

Ff. 22, etc. 226 × 189 mm. c. 1798.

* * Draft, in Mrs. Piozzi's hand, with the note: "Sketch of Europe in 1797, unrolled by Dumouriez, colour'd, &c. by H. L. Piozzi." The *Tableau Spéculatif de l'Europe* of Charles-François Dumouriez appeared in 1798 and a translation was published in London the same year. See MS. 641.

641. [R. 71063.] THRALE-PIOZZI MSS. Miniature picture of Europe by Dumouriez in 1797.

Ff. 21. 258 × 208 mm. c. 1798.

* * A revised version, in Mrs. Piozzi's hand, of MS. 640.

642. [R. 71063.] THRALE-PIOZZI MSS. Three warnings to John Bull before he dies. By an old Acquaintance of the Public.

Ff. 23. 240 × 205 mm. c. 1798.

* * Loose sheets, now bound up, in Mrs. Piozzi's hand. On the old wrapper was the note "MS. of a political Pamphlet, 1798. Mrs. Piozzi, Warrens Hotel." This work was published anonymously in 1798.

643. [R. 71063.] THRALE-PIOZZI MSS. Retrospection.

(i) ff. 6; (ii) ff. 96 (+ 2 blank), 81, 42, 59. (i) 245 × 203 mm.; (ii) 316 × 205 mm., etc. c. 1800.

* * A box containing (i) a rough draft of the preface of Mrs. Piozzi's *Retrospection: or a Review of the most striking and important events, characters, situations, and their consequences, which the last eighteen hundred years have presented to Mankind*, and (b) 4 notebooks with drafts, in Mrs. Piozzi's hands of sections of the same work. See MSS. 644-5.

- 644-5. [R. 71063.] THRALE-PIOZZI MSS. Retrospection.

I. [644.] Ff. 243. 316 × 207 mm. c. 1800.

II. [645.] Ff. 261. 335 × 208 mm. c. 1800.

* * Loose sheets, now in two volumes, of Mrs. Piozzi's final draft of *Retrospection*. See MS. 643. Part of the preface and four leaves of text are missing.

646. [R. 71063.] THRALE-PIOZZI MSS. Poems.

Ff. 66. 310 × 298 mm. c. 1768.

* * In Mrs. Thrale's hand, with the title: "Manuscript Poems on various Subjects and several occasions." Many poems, dated between 1757 and 1768, have been copied out. Notes record that some of the poems had appeared in print.

647. [R. 71063.] THRALE-PIOZZI MSS. Poems.

123 items. Various sizes. c. 1756-1820.

* * In one volume, in the hand of Mrs. Thrale (Piozzi). One group is described as "Juvenile Performances. H: L: Salusbury." No. 29 is the MS. of the poem (4 ff.) on the Streatham portraits, "Lord Sandys first appears at the head of the Tribe." See also MS. 646.

648. [R. 71063.] THRALE-PIOZZI MSS. The trial of Midas the 2d, or Congress of Musicians.

Ff. 36. 180 × 117 mm. 1777.

* * A small notebook, in Dr. Charles Burney's hand. See *The trial of Midas the Second* (ed. W. W. Roberts), M.U.P., 1933.

649. [R. 71063.] THRALE-PIOZZI MSS. The two fountains. A faery tale. Scene, Derbyshire.

Ff. 25 (+ 16 blank). 307 × 189 mm. Late xviiith cent.

* * A large notebook. A play, in Mrs. Thrale's hand, with many alterations and insertions.

650. [R. 71063.] THRALE-PIOZZI MSS. **The humourist.** A comedy.

Ff. 7 (+ 7 blank). 236 × 188 mm. Late xviiith cent.

* * The first act of a play, in Mrs. Thrale's hand.

651. [R. 71063.] THRALE-PIOZZI MSS. **The adventurer.** A comedy in two acts.

Ff. 27. 219 × 184 mm. Late xviiith cent.

* * A notebook. In an unidentified hand, with some alterations in Mrs. Thrale's hand. See MS. 652.

652. [R. 71063.] THRALE-PIOZZI MSS. **The adventurer.** A comedy in two acts.

Ff. 15 (+ 7 blank). 259 × 197 mm. Late xviiith cent.

* * A revised version of this play, in the hand of Mrs. Thrale. See MS. 651.

653. [R. 71063.] THRALE-PIOZZI MSS. **Samuel Johnson's Preface to "The plays of William Shakespeare."**

* * This is not a manuscript, but the early page proofs of the first thirty-two pages of Dr. Johnson's Preface to his edition of *The plays of William Shakespeare*, published in 1756. There are many MS. corrections in Johnson's hand and a comparison with the published version reveals that further alterations were afterwards made.

654. [R. 71063.] THRALE-PIOZZI MSS. **Samuel Johnson's "The Fountains."**

Paper. Ff. 13. 221 × 183 mm. Late xviiith cent.

* * A small notebook, with a copy, in Mrs. Thrale's hand, of Dr. Johnson's "The Fountains. A fairy tale." A number of pages, which have been removed, evidently contained a "Traduzione della Novella detta Le due Fontane, scritta dal Dottor S: Johnson." A note in Mrs. Piozzi's hand states, "Why this was translated, or transcribed, or why the Translation was torn, and the Transcript left, I cannot now make a Guess. H: L: P. 1801."

655. [R. 71063.] THRALE-PIOZZI MSS. **Miscellaneous prose fragments and letters.**

43 items. Various sizes. xviii-xixth cent.

* * In one volume. The MSS. are in various hands and include (iii) "The case of Sam^l Blackden & George Winzell of Nova Scotia in America," (iv) "Truths belonging to a private man," (viii) fragments of a novel (4 pages), apparently in John Salusbury's hand, and (xlii) four pages, with the author's corrections, of Charles Burney's *A general history of Music*. There are several endorsements in the hand of Dr. Samuel Johnson.

656. [R. 71063.] THRALE-PIOZZI MSS. Miscellaneous poems.

135 items. Various sizes. c. 1735-1820.

* * In one volume. Poems in various hands, some initialled or signed, others copied, including (i) "Mr. Beech's poem about Sir William Fowns" (ff. 8), dated 5 April, 1735; (ii) "Verses written on a Summer Evening's Walk. By Eliz. Surman"; (ix) "Epistle to Madam Piozzi Aspasia, the favourite Muse of Dr. Saml Johnson Socrates"; (li) "Lines written on seeing the portraits of Burke, Johnson, Garrick, Goldsmith, &c., in the Library at Streatham Park"; and verse in French, Italian, Latin and Welsh.

657. [R. 71063.] THRALE-PIOZZI MSS. John Cunningham's "Elegy on a pile of Ruins" (with Latin translation).

Ff. 13 (+ 28 blank). 193 × 154 mm. Late xviiith cent.

* * A notebook with a MS. copy of Cunningham's *Elegy*, with a translation of the same into Latin. There is also a copy of a letter "To Christopher Anstey, Esq.," from "The Translator" (? the Rev. Leonard Chappelow).

658. [R. 71063.] THRALE-PIOZZI MSS. A play in five acts, by Dr. John Delap.

Ff. 72. 240 × 190 mm. c. 1790.

* * A notebook, with the following note, in Mrs. Piozzi's hand: "This Play written by Doctor Delap was committed to H : L : Piozzi's Care 1790." The scene is in Caria and the characters include Indarus, King of Caria, Iphicles, Athamas, Idmon, Ianthe and Nephale.

659. [R. 71063.] THRALE-PIOZZI MSS. Swift papers, etc.

25 items. Various sizes. Early xviiith cent.

* * In one volume. These papers were originally in a loosely-tied packet with the note, in Mrs. Piozzi's hand, "Original Letters from Dean Swift and Lord Orrery." Another note, in pencil, and now almost disappeared says: "21 Sept. 1880. Nothing of the kind. Now there is 1 letter from Lady Orrery, none from Lord. The rest are unsigned. . . . Besides they are not letters . . ." Of the contents, No. 2 is addressed to the Rev. Dr. Swift and contains some verses and also two couplets, added later, possibly in Swift's hand; No. 3, signed "Orrery," is a poem dated 30 November, 1732; No. 4 is to Mrs. Whiteway, Swift's housekeeper, from W.K. (Dr. King); Nos. 5 and 6 to the same from Lady Orrery and "Car: Fred: Scot," respectively. The other items are fragments of verse and prose, puns, bulls, etc., some evidently in Swift's hand, others unidentified.

660. [R. 71063.] THRALE-PIOZZI MSS. The Addiscombe Miscellany No. 1.

Ff. 10. 230 × 186 mm. c. 1836.

661. [R. 71048.] SAMUEL JOHNSON. Notebook of his French journey, 1775.

* * Rotograph only of the British Museum Additional MS. No. 35299. The original MS. was "Presented to the British Museum by the daughters of the late William Sharpe, of 1 Highbury Terrace, from the collection of Samuel Rogers, the poet, their great uncle." It covers the period from 10 October to 5 November, 1775.

662. [R. 69758.] VERSE. Miscellany.

Ff. 185. 196 × 161 mm. Late xviiith cent.

* * Bookplate of Lady F. Sandys.

663. [R. 68999.] LANCASHIRE. Calendars of deeds, etc.

Ff. 96 + v. 192 × 142 mm. c. 1640.

* * A notebook containing (f. 1) obituary notices on K(atherine) R(igby), died 15 Sept., 1643; (f. 2) notes on fee simple; (f. 14) *Table of the thinges conteyned in the ensueinge booke*; (f. 17, o.n. 1) *A kallender of all the Patenttes, & other writings w^{ch} I have, concerninge the office of Clerkeshippe of the peace wthin the County of Lancashire*; (f. 26, o.n. 12) *A kallender of all the deedes, evidences, & writings, w^{ch} I have concerninge the Peele*; (f. 43, o.n. 29) *A kallender of the deedes, evidences & writings w^{ch} I have concerninge Birche-wood*; (f. 44^v, o.n. 30) *A kallender of all the deedes, evidences and writings concerninge the lands & hereditam^{tes} in Hulton & Worsley w^{ch} I purchased from S^r Raphe Assheton, Barronett*; (f. 59, o.n. 45) *A kallender of all the deedes, evidences & writings w^{ch} I have concerninge my rentes services & hereditam^{tes} in Hoppewode, Thornton iuxta Chaderton, Cleyden, Manchester, Rovington, Honeresfield & Ratchdale*; (f. 68, o.n. 54) *A kallender of all the writings w^{ch} I have concerninge the tithes in Littlehulton & Worsley w^{ch} I held of M^r Anderton by lease for 21 yeres under the yerely rent of xi^{li} viii^s viii^d*; (f. 73, o.n. 59) *A kallender of all the deedes, evidences and writings w^{ch} I have concerninge my landes in Wigan*; (f. 75, o.n. 61) *a kallender of all the deedes, evidences & writings w^{ch} I have concerninge ffayrehurste and Crosse ground*; (96^v) *A note of moneys receyved by mee George Rigbye of & from my tenaunte W^m Partington of Tildesley, webster, in parte of paym^t of his fines for a lease of his te(neme)nte (1639-40).* On the flyleaf is the name "Geo. Rigbye." The book was examined in court on 12 and 28 June, 1661. Bought at Hodgson's salerooms, 10 Dec., 1930. See also MS. 664.

664. [R. 68999.] LANCASHIRE. Calendars of Lancashire evidences, etc.

Paper. ff. 103. 143 × 94 mm. Early xviith cent.

* * A small notebook containing (f. 1, o.n. 9) a calendar of various recognisances; (f. 5, o.n. 13) *A Breefe or Kalender of Recognisances, Indytm^{tes}, examinations, committm^{tes}, defaultes and other thinges certified and delivered over by the Clarke of the peace into the Crowne office att the assyses att Lancaster upon Munday being the xxiiith of Marche, Anno R.R. domini Caroli Anglie &c. quarto, 1628/9, and other calendars for the same delivered* (f. 10, o.n. 18) 3 August, 1629; (f. 15, o.n. 23) 15 March, 1629/30; (f. 22, o.n. 30) 9 August, 1630; (f. 28) 28 March, 1631; (f. 35) 22 August, 1631; (f. 43) 19 March, 1631/2; (f. 49) 20 August, 1632; (f. 57) 8 April, 1633; (f. 64) 19 August,

1633 ; (f. 71) 24 March, 1633/4 ; (f. 76) 18 August, 1634 ; (f. 82) 16 March, 1634/5 ; (f. 90) 3 August, 1635 ; (f. 96) 4 April, 1636 ; and (f. 103) 22 August, 1636. Acquired with MS. 663.

665-6. [R. 69047.] MARY RUSSELL MITFORD. Letters from Mary Russell Mitford to Sir Thomas Noon Talfourd.

I. (665.) 1-57. Various sizes. 1821-43.

II. (666.) 58-117. Various sizes. 1821-43.

* * In two volumes. Several letters have been damaged, or are imperfect.

667. [R. 69047.] THOMAS NOON TALFOURD. Letters from Sir Thomas Noon Talfourd to Mary Russell Mitford.

63 items. Various sizes. 1821-31.

* * In one volume. Several letters are imperfect.

668. [R. 69901.] HENRY BILSON LEGGE. Correspondence, etc.

28 items. Various sizes. 1751-64.

* * In one volume. Letters and drafts of letters from and to the Rt. Hon. Henry Bilson Legge. The correspondents include Sir Benjamin Keene, Sir J. Mordaunt, S. Martin, Thomas Prowse, and Lady Edgcumbe. Several letters are printed in J. Butler's *Some account of the character of the late Right Honourable Henry Bilson Legge* (London, 1764). Former owner : Professor L. B. Namier.

669. [R. 69901.] MISCELLANY. Miscellaneous political papers, etc.

18 items. Various sizes. xviii-th-xixth cent.

* * In one volume. Several papers concern French and Indian affairs. Former owner : Professor L. B. Namier.

670-93. [R. 68997.] MELVILLE PAPERS. Letters, papers, etc.

I. (670.) Ab-Au.

XIII. (682.) Ma-Meh.

II. (671.) Bai-Bar.

XIV. (683.) Meh-Nu.

III. (672.) Bar-Bla.

XV. (684.) Oa-Pr.

IV. (673.) Bla-Bru.

XVI. (685.) Ra-Ry.

V. (674.) Bru-Cam.

XVII. (686.) Sa-Sti.

VI. (675.) Cam-Col.

XVIII. (687.) Sti-Wal.

VII. (676.) Col-Cum.

XIX. (688.) Wal-Wri.

VIII. (677.) Dal-Ell.

XX. (689.) Wri-Anon.

IX. (678.) Ell-Gra.

XXI. (690.) 1759-1845.

X. (679.) Gra-Hol.

XXII. (691.) 1846-1943.

XI. (680.) Hol-Ker.

XXIII. (692.) 1944-2046.

XII. (681.) Ker-Lus.

XXIV. (693.) 2047-2114.

* * 24 boxes containing letters to Henry Dundas, 1st Viscount Melville, and Robert Dundas, 2nd Viscount, draft replies, papers, etc., relating mainly to Indian and East India Company affairs. MSS. 690-92 contain letters from Robert Dundas (many addressed "To the Chair"), and Nos. 692-3 contain many letters from Henry Dundas.

694-6. [R. 68997.] MELVILLE PAPERS. Indian papers, etc.

XXV. (694.) 1-61.

XXVII. (696.) 116-141.

XXVI. (695.) 62-115.

* * 3 boxes containing papers chiefly relating to Indian affairs. MS. 694 deals with Indian finance, commerce, and army matters, MS. 695 with the Indian army, civil service, justice, etc., and MS. 696 with Indian administration, Parliamentary proceedings, etc.

697. [R. 68997.] MELVILLE PAPERS. Miscellaneous correspondence. Calendars and Indexes, I.

Ff. 100. Various sizes. xviiiith-xixth cent.

* * In one volume. There are calendars of (p. 1) letters from India, (p. 6) plans, narratives, etc., (p. 19) letters from China, (p. 21) letters from St. Helena and the Cape of Good Hope, and of (p. 24) many miscellaneous letters and papers.

698. [R. 68997.] MELVILLE PAPERS. Miscellaneous correspondence. Calendars and Indexes, II.

Ff. 135. Various sizes. xviiiith-xixth cent.

* * In one volume. There are calendars of (f. 1) miscellaneous correspondence, alphabetically arranged, (f. 35) miscellaneous papers alphabetically arranged, (f. 65) memoranda, (f. 70) East India papers, (f. 82) applications; of papers relating to (f. 92) patronage, (f. 94) Lord Keith's allowance, (f. 96) the department for War and the Colonies, (f. 98) the department of Home Affairs, (f. 102) sundry departments, (f. 108) the colonial agent for Ceylon, (f. 110) the Foreign department (f. 112) the Persian envoy, (f. 114) the Government of Madras, (f. 120) the Commander-in-chief; and of (f. 124) correspondence with the Chairs from September, 1810, to August, 1811.

699. [R. 68997.] MELVILLE PAPERS. Lists of applications and appointments.

Ff. 152. Various sizes. xviiiith-xixth cent.

* * In one volume. There are lists of (f. 1) applications for letters of recommendation, (f. 12) miscellaneous applications, (f. 14) applications, 18 September, 1807; applications for (f. 26) the Admiralty, (f. 28) the army, (f. 29^v) the colonies, (f. 30) the Revenue (England), etc., (f. 32) Scotland; applications to become (f. 40) cadets, assistant-surgeons and writers, (f. 100) writers, 31 December, 1801, (f. 106) cadets, (f. 110), assistant-surgeons; (f. 114) East India patronage; and (f. 131) of other applications.

700. LETTERS. Miscellaneous Letters.

145 items. Various sizes. xviith-xixth cent.

* * In one box. The contents are (i) Nos. 1-98, from various authors and others to the printers, John Nichols, John Bowyer Nichols and John Gough Nichols. Nos. 99-138 include many letters from Henry Bradshaw and Thomas J. Wise, bought from J. E. Cornish, bookseller. Nos. 140-3 are from John Ruskin; and Nos. 144-5 are to William Blathwayt, Secretary-at-War, 1690, 1691/2.

(To be continued).